Britannia Languens:

OR, A

DISCOURSE

OF

TRADE,

SHEWING,

That the preſent Management of Trade in *England*, is the true Reaſon of the Decay of our Manufactures, and the late great Fall of Land-Rents; and that the increaſe of Trade, in the Method it now ſtands in, muſt proportionably Decay *England*.

Wherein is particularly demonſtrated,

That the *Eaſt-India* Company, as now Managed, has already near deſtroyed our Trade in thoſe Parts, as well as that with *Turky*, and in ſhort time muſt neceſſarily beggar the Nation.

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of this Preſent PARLIAMENT.

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Mem.

Sheet T, pp. 273-288, does not belong to this work, but to "The History of the damnable Popish Plot" of 1680.

D.Q.

TO THE READER.

IT is a Truth beyond all Diſpute and Controverſie, ſad Experience having too evidently made out the Proof and Certainty of it, that the Trade of England *for many Years laſt paſt, hath been ſo impolitickly and ill manag'd for the Nations Good and Benefit, that it hath been the true Cauſe of the fall of the value of Lands, the decay of Farmers, and Graziers, and almoſt the utter ruin and deſtruction of the choiſeſt and beſt Manufactories of this Kingdom; and the more the Trade of the Nation ſhall be enlarged in the Methods we now Traffick in, the more miſchievous and ruinous it muſt prove to the Nation; and unleſs ſome ſpeedy Care be taken by wiſe and prudent Laws, to prevent this growing Deſtruction upon us, we ſhall moſt inſenſibly fall to the greateſt Penury and Want perhaps of any Nation in* Europe; *tho' this Kingdom otherways by its Scituation, and the fruitfulneſs of its Soil, and by its brave Harbours for Shipping, the choiſeſt and cheapeſt Materials for the ſtancheſt Manufactories that are uſed throughout*

out Europe; *This Kingdom might be improv'd not only to doubling the value of Lands, but by advancing our Manufactory ſo, as to command the Trade of the Known World; and the Deſign of the ingenious Author of this Book is, to demonſtrate the above Aſſertions, by ſhewing moſt unanſwerably the fatal Miſchief that attends this Nation, by the Methods of Trade, that it is at preſent ingaged in, and giving alſo the true Notions of Trade, as to Intereſt and Advantage of their Majeſties, and all their Subjects, and that with ſo much Demonſtration and Clearneſs, that the Author would not have probably toiled in ſo ingenious Inquiries, but that he believed, could he intelligibly make out the Truths above, whenever the great Aſſembly of Parliament ſhould meet, they would take it into their Wiſe Conſideration. Themſelves, as well as the whole Kingdom, being concerned in the Affairs and Intereſt hereof.*

THE

THE Introduction.

IT *hath been the Common Design and Business of Individual Men in* England, *as elsewhere, to obtain sufficient* Revenues *in Money to the end they may secure themselves from* Necessities *and* Shifting, *and live* plentifully; *And yet it may be undeniably and uncomfortably observed, That whilst every one hath eagerly pursued his* private Interest, *a kind of* Common Consumption *hath* crawled *upon us*; *Since our* Land-Rents *are generally much* fallen, *and our* Home-Commodities sunk *from their late Price and Value*; *Our* Poor *are vastly* increased, *and the rest of our People generally more and more feel the* Want of Money; *This Disease having grown upon us in times of Peace, when no Forreigners have* Exhausted *us by War-like*

Depredations, may very justly amuse us; and the more, when at the same time, we observe that some of our Neighbour-Nations, *lately our* Equals, *or much our Inferiors, are become so* prodigiously Rich and Powerful *on a sudden,* (*I mean the* French *and* Dutch:) *Certainly these mighty* Productions *must have some great and vigorous* Causes, *which have been very furiously working of* late years, *and such as have not fallen under Common Observation: The Nations and Races of People are the same, and the Countries of* England, France *and* Holland, *stand where they did, they are not removed an Inch; nor do the* English *seem to have lost their Understandings; they are as* cunning *in their private Contracts as ever, and appear nothing inferior to the* French *and* Dutch *in most parts of* Literature; *I question not but that they know all the* Ancient Languages *and* Histories *as well, that our* Academicks *are as subtile in all the* Criticisms *of* Aristotle, *that they have travelled as far into the most abstruse parts of his* Logick, Physicks *and* Metaphysicks; *and yet have we still grown poorer and poorer; So have we excelled in divers* necessary parts of Learning; *We have had as Able, Eloquent and Eminent* Lawyers *and* Clergy-men *as ever, and as Notable* Physitians, *and the Nation seems to have grown more* Learned, *and therefore* Wiser *than before, by the late vast increase of these Ranks of men.*

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The present Disadvantages we are under, are therefore commonly attributed to Accidents *of divers kinds, as mens present particular* Fancies *dictate, in which the greatest part are contented to rest satisfied without farther enquiry, whilst they have some Prospects of* Gain *in the* Imployments *they are severally Educated to; Some ascribe the* fall of Rents *to an over-great increase of Corn, by the* ploughing up of Parks; *Others to the modern* Parsimony in Housekeeping, *the lessening of Gentlemens* Retinues, *and leaving off the old laudable Custom of plentiful* Suppers, *which they suppose occasions a less Consumption of Victuals; others attribute this, and the want of Money in the Country, to the great resort of People to* London, *and quarrel at the* New Buildings, *as the Hires and Receptacles which draw them thither; others to the* banking up of Treasures *in the Coffers of some unknown Grandees,* Church-men, Lawyers *or* Citizens, *of which they are highly confident, for else, they say, what is become of the money? then for the late Progress and Trophies of the* French, *many look upon them as the meer effects of the* Despotick *or* Arbitrary Power *of that* Monarchy, *or of the personal* cunning *of some men now living in* France; *I remember I heard one Gentleman say, that the* French Genius was up, *wherewith he gave himself and others good satisfaction: Others will have it, that the late*

Enemies of the French *wanted* Valor *and* Conduct, *but that if the* French *had the* English *to contend with, their Glory would soon be laid in the Duſt: For the* Dutch, *there are thoſe who will argue their* Riches *and* Populacy *to proceed from the* peculiar Induſtry *of that Nation, and that ſuch an Eternal Toil is not ſupportable by any other; Others, to their ſmall Expence in* Diet *and* Habit, *others to particular Circumſtances in the time and manner of their* Defection *from* Spain; *to their* Regiſter of Titles *and* Contracts, *and their* cheap *and eaſie deciſion of* Law-Suits.

Of all other things we ſeem to be moſt ſecure *in the matter of* Trade; *we have many who taking themſelves to be* born or intitled to ſo much a year in Land, *do conſider* Trade *as no otherwiſe neceſſary in a Nation, than to* ſupport younger Brothers, *and are ready to thruſt all* Publique Taxes upon Trade, *that they may eaſe the Land; Others who pretend to enquire into it, hear the Cuſtoms are much riſen of late years, and then reſt ſatisfied that we have a mightier* Trade *than ever: We have alſo ſome* Merchants *and* Shopkeepers *who get Eſtates, and buy Land on a ſuddain, which is lookt upon as an Argument of a good* Trade; *We find their mighty and numerous* Shops *and* Warehouſes, *full of goods, and do not hear them complain of* Trade, *Or that Land is brought* to 14 or 16 years

years *purchaſe, or that they buy at a much* abated yearly value.

Some, indeed, juſtly apprehending a Diſeaſe *in our* Trade, *by the decay of our Home* Manufactures, *and an exceſs of Forreign* Importations, *have judiciouſly expreſſed themſelves in it; theſe Nations whilſt in* Embrio, *have been* ralleured *by our Modern* Drolls, *in their new Manufacture of* Plays.

There are others, who with more Deſign *and* Gravity, *tell us, That the Notions of Improvements of* Trade, *are of a* dangerous tendency, *becauſe they threaten part of the preſent Juriſdiction of our* Spiritual Courts, *and the gain of many* Offices, *by ſome requiſite Toleration of* Conſcience, *and other mittigations relating to* Trade, *and upon this Occaſion the ſame Objectors proceed to argue the Improvements of Trade to be of as bad Conſequence to the* State, *by filling the Nation with Trading-Religious Diſſenters, or by a neceſſary moderating of the preſent* Cuſtom-Rates: *They alſo inſinuate, that we ought not to look for ſuch a perfection of Trade under a* Monarchical Government, *but to diſpoſe of our ſelves otherwiſe as we can; We have others that ſay, Trade is a* miſterious thing, *and not intelligible in any part of it, without a long Apprentiſhip, and therefore wholly refer themſelves to the* Merchants *and* private Tradeis; *Others that 'tis* Mechanical, *and not Gentleman-like.*

But if it fall out that these are all mistaken Opinions, if Trade *alone hath produced the afore-mentioned Effects in* England, France *and* Holland, *If the rise and fall of* Rents *absolutely depend upon it*; *If* Liberty *and* Property *be made valuable by Trade only, and are not valuable or safe without it*; *If a* Nation *may be made* strong or weak *by the meer different Operations of* Trade; *If the* Taxing *or burthening of* Trade *must reduce all Land-Revenues, if the* easing *of* Trade *either in the particular Custom-Rates, or otherwise, will make the whole Revenue of the* Customs *greater, or else much enhance all other publick as well as private Revenues*; *If a mighty Trade be consistent with a* Monarchical Government? *(where there is* Property *and* Liberty:) *If it be a false and officious* Scandal *to this form of Government, to affirm the contrary, if* England *of all other Nations, be naturally most capable of the Advantages of* Trade, *but yet the* Trade *of* England *of late years hath been* Consumptive; *If the late Policies of our Neighbour-Nations have rendred our* old established *Methods of* Trade *insufficient, If we have divers late* innovated Obstructions *in our* Trade, *if this hath caused an* over-ballance of Forreign Importations, *If our National Industry hath been imployed to enrich* Forreigners, *if our own Treasures have been* exhausted *by our own Trade, and will soon be swept away in*

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the present course of it, Nay, even notwithstanding our late Prohibition of French Goods, *if the Objections against the enlarging and bettering of our Trade arise from* private Interests, *in contradiction to the Publique, or from* Passion *or* Humour, *and if this be intelligible to every man of sense, that will take the pains to enquire into it. Then certainly it must follow,*

That it does much import all English Gentlemen, Owners of Land, *and others, who take themselves to be sharers in the* National Interest *to examine the past and present State of our* Trade, *and to seek for a* legal Regulation *of it; And that all* private Interests *destructive to our Trade ought to be relaxed, and given up for the future.*

Private Interest *is that many headed* Monster, *I am chiefly to encounter with, in which if any particular person shall take himself to be concerned, I shall desire him to consider, whether his own Condition would not be more truly* honourable *and* safe *under more open Methods of* Trade? *I shall pray him to look into the nature of* meer private Interest, *which if he do, he must confess it the same Principle that leads men into* Cheats, Thefts, *and all those other base, mercyless and execrable* Villanies, *which render the Actors Criminous, and odious by the Sufferings and Injuries they bring upon others.*

Then if any mans particular way of Gain *be ſo prejudicial to* Trade, *as to occaſion the continual* Beggery *of* Thouſands *of his Countrymen, is not this more then equally miſchievous to ſo many* thouſand *Thefts? But what if this* Beggery *muſt unavoidably cauſe many thouſand* actual *Thefts, nay* Murders *and* Enormities *of all kinds, and as it grows more Univerſal, muſt bring the* Nation *into an* impotent *and indefenſeable* weakneſs? *Have we any amongſt us that will be yet* tenacious *of ſuch ways of* Gain? *Will they tell us that they are not puniſhable by any* Laws *in force? 'tis pity they are not. So there was a time when in* Old Rome, *there was no direct* Law *againſt* Parricide: *But that they may no longer ſhelter themſelves under this* Umbrage, *it were highly neceſſary that* Laws *were made to control them, and to remove all Obſtructions in our* Trade.

That Trade *is of this National* Importance *and* Influence, *and that the* Trade *of* England *in particular, hath been and continues under theſe* Diſadvantages, *will, I think, ſufficiently appear to any indifferent Reader, by the following Diſcourſe; Of which having given the Reader a taſt, by way of* Introduction, *I ſhall proceed to what I have undertaken, and ſhall begin with ſome* Preliminaries,

ries. *Of which part are* self-evident, *and for those that are not (being not able to say all at once) refer the Reader to the following* Sections.

SECT.

SECT. I.

Trade National or Private, Home or Forreign Treasures Imported by Trade, thence Land-Rents, Popularly increased, the Revenues of all Ranks of men depend upon Trade, People and Treasure make National Strength, particular Advantages in Treasure, the difference between Ancient and Modern Wars, Navigation supported by Trade, this necessary for the Security of an Island, and therein the farther scope of the whole.

TRade is either *National or Private:* The *National Trade* doth influence the Wealth and Strength of a *whole Nation*, and therefore is not the only Concern of *Merchants.*

Private Trade hath regard to the particular Wealth of the Trader, and doth so far differ in

in the ſcope and deſign of it from the *National*, that a private Trade may be very beneficial to the private Trader, but of hurtful, nay of very ruinous Conſequence to the whole Nation; as will appear.

I ſhall ſpeak of National Trade, which is properly divided into *Home* Trade, and *Forreign* Trade.

The Home Trade in every Nation hath dependance on the Forreign Trade, if a Nation hath no Gold or Silver-Mines within its own Territory, there is no practicable way of bringing *Treaſure* into it (in times of Peace) but by Forreign Trade: And if ſuch a Nation be not enriched by Imported Treaſure, its Home Trade can only be managed by *Exchange of Goods for Goods*.

But if Treaſure be Imported, then may its Home Trade be managed by buying and ſelling for *money*.

And from hence may the *Lands* in ſuch a Nation come to yield a *money Rent*, which is the produce or profits of Land ſold for *money*.

In which Caſe the *price of Home Commodities*, and conſequently the yearly *Rent of Lands* in a Nation which hath *populacy* and *property*, will hold proportion with the quantity of the National Treaſure; and will riſe or fall as the Treaſure does increaſe or diminiſh.

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For where there is an increaſe of *Treaſure* in a Nation which hath *property*, this will ordinarily diffuſe amongſt the people by the neceſſity and ſucceſſion of *Contracts*; and then the people having univerſally more money than before, the *Seller* will not be ſo *neceſſitous* for money as before, and will have a greater *choice of Chapmen*, who will be more able and ready to buy.

Theſe numbers of Chapmen will inevitably raiſe the Market one upon the other, as is demonſtrable by common and undeniable Experience and Fact; And therefore I ſhall lay it as a ground in Commerce, That the *plenty of Chapmen*, who have *plenty of money*, will cauſe a higher and quicker Market for any deſireable Commodity, eſpecially if the *Seller* be not ſo *neceſſitous* for money as to be forced to *ſnap* at the firſt offer.

And that on the other ſide, where there be fewer Chapmen, who have leſs money, and the Sellers themſelves are more neceſſitous, they muſt and will ſell lower; This muſt inevitably happen in a Nation where there is little money.

For inſtance, If there were but 500 *l.* Sterling in *England*, an Ox could hardly be worth a peny, nor could the Revenue of all *England* be 500 *l. per annum*, or not above;

It follows then, that a Forreign Trade (by increaſing the National Treaſure) will advance *home Markets*, and the value of *Lands* in *England*.

I ſhall admit that if a Nation can be *Victorious in War*, and can plunder the Conquered, ſome Treaſures may happen to be Imported this way; But certainly thoſe who conſider it, will rather deſire to be enriched by Trade than by War, ſince in the Courſe of Trade, far mightier Treaſures may be gotten with *Peace, Innocence, Security, and Happineſs to the People*, who cannot be Victorious in War without Bloodſheds, Rapines, Violences, and Perpetrations of all kinds; they alſo muſt be ſubject to perpetual difficulties and hazards in the hardſhips and event of War, which will diſturb or ſubvert the Home Trade, nor can the Treaſure of a People ſo imployed circulate in the Markets to any advantagious degree; or ſhould we have any ſuch *Bravoes* or *Knights Errant* as would rather purchaſe Wealth by Fighting than by Induſtry, yet are theſe imaginary Conqueſts abſolutely impracticable at this day without the aſſiſtance of Forreign Trade; as will be ſhewn.

But firſt upon the former grounds I ſhall add, that a Forreign Trade (if managed to the beſt advantage) will yet further advance the values of Lands, by neceſſitating a vaſt

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increaſe of people, ſince it muſt maintain great multitudes of people in the very buſineſs of Trade, which could not otherwiſe be ſupported, (as will alſo further appear): All which having the Rewards of their Labours in their hands, will ſtill enlarge the choice of Chapmen to the Sellers, and there being ſo many more perſons to be fed and cloathed, there muſt be a far greater home Conſumption of all the products of Land.

And hence muſt ariſe a kind of Competition amongſt the people who ſhall farm or purchaſe Land, when the Revenue of Land is certain, and grows higher daily, as the Treaſure and People increaſe, which muſt cauſe Land to riſe as well in the years purchaſe, as in the years value; nay, the very Earth muſt receive an inevitable *Improvement* by their Induſtrious numbers, whilſt every one will be able and willing to poſſeſs and manure a greater or leſſer part, according to his occaſions; there is hardly any Land in *England* but may be improved to double the value, and very much to treble and more.

This neceſſary Improvement of Rent and Land is verified in the Forreign inſtance of *Holland*, and in ſuch of our *Engliſh* Lands as lie near great and populous *Corporations*; And on the other ſide, we ſee that in *Spain* and *Turky*, and alſo in ſuch parts of *England* and *Ireland*,

Ireland, where there is little Trade, and fewer people, there lie great quantities of Land which yield little or no profit; and hence I conclude, That the Revenue and Value of Land will ſimpathize with the National Trade.

There are indeed certain Ranks of Men of honourable and neceſſary Imployments and Profeſſions in every Nation, whoſe Revenues do not ſo immediately ariſe from Trade; ſuch are *Officers* greater and leſs, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, and ſuch like.

But though theſe are not placed in the direct Channel of Trade, yet 'tis very plain they derive their Revenues from it; being ſupported in their Grandure and Gains at the coſt of the Land-Holders and Traders; who will be more capable and willing to give them greater Gratuities and Fees, when their own pockets are fuller; and as the People, Trade and Contracts do increaſe, there will be more Law-Suits and Diſeaſes, and ordinarily more Fees and Gratuities, ſo will there be more Houſes built, more Apparel made, and more Imployment of all ſorts for *Maſons*, *Carpenters*, *Taylors*, and men of all other middle and inferior Callings.

And from hence it alſo follows, That a Forreign Trade managed to the beſt advantage, will make a *Nation vaſtly ſtronger than naturally*

naturally it was, becauſe money and people do ordinarily make National ſtrength.

Money is neceſſary for the purchaſing of many Proviſions for War by Land or Sea, as Arms, Victuals, Ammunition, materials for Shipping, and many others, which being gotten, yet neither Souldiers nor Sea-men will now adventure themſelves at the mouths of Cannon and Musket without pay, whereof the further Conſequence is that the Prince and Nation which hath the greateſt Treaſure, will finally have the Victory, and probably with little or no fighting.

For being enabled by their Treaſure to keep themſelves in *a poſture of War*, they will oblige their Enemies to the like Expence, till their Enemies Treaſures are exhauſted, and then their *Armies* and alſo their *Councils* will diſſipate.

This ſhews the difference between the *ancient* and *preſent* Courſe of *War*, for anciently the event of War was tried by frequent Battels, and generally ſucceeded as one Nation was Superior to the other in perſonal Strength and Roughneſs; But ſince the Wealth of the *Indies* came to be diſcovered and diſperſed more and more, Wars are managed *by much Treaſure and little Fighting*, and therefore with little hazard to the richer Nation.

And

And hence alſo doth it appear that in the preſent condition of the World, it is in a manner impoſſible for a Nation to gain Riches by Conqueſt and Plunder, unleſs it hath firſt ſtore of Treaſure at Home, which cannot otherwiſe be gotten than by Forreign Trade.

Alſo *money* will command the *Service and Lives* of any *poorer and rougher Nation*, It will purchaſe the *Aſſiſtance* of Forreign *Princes*, it will *indear* their great *Miniſters*, open their *Cabinets*, engage true and cloſe Correſpondencies, and *poiſon* their *Councils*: It will paſs unſeen through Rampiers, Fortifications, and Guards into Cities and Forts, and will ſurprize them without the tedious hazards of Seiges; It will purchaſe Governors and Generals, and like Lightning will conſume the *Heart* of a poorer Nation, whilſt its *Countenance and Outſide* ſhall remain freſh.

So are *people* neceſſary to Guard the Treaſures, and defend the Nation, who will be more or leſs true and ſerviceable to the National Intereſt, as they have a greater or leſſer *ſhare in it*; he that hath ſomewhat of his own, and lives Comfortably, will ſtoutly defend the Nation againſt Invaders; But if a People be poor and miſerable, their Condition being uneaſie, it will be indifferent to them who is Conqueror; nay they will hope for a better Condition by turning the Tables; ſo is it of

dangerous Conſequence that the People ſhould become *vitious*, becauſe it generally weakens their Bodies, Courages, or Faiths: In all which the excellency of a great and well regulated Forreign Trade may be diſcerned, ſince it will render the People Rich, and ordinarily Virtuous; as will alſo appear.

But Forreign Trade may bring a particular advantage to an *Iſland* by a great *Navigation*, without which its impoſſible for any Iſland long to defend it ſelf againſt a Forreign Enemy potent in Shipping, for the *Invaders* circling an Iſland with their Ships, may ſail from Place to Place, and Rob, Spoil and Kill, before the Natives can, by long Land-Marches, apply their Courage and Land-Forces to reſiſt them; which muſt neceſſarily diſtract and weary out the moſt valiant People on the Earth: this hath been evident by many Demonſtrations in *England*, which hath been often Conquered by Forreigners for want of a ſufficient *Naval Force*, particularly by the *Romans*, nay by the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; but hath more often repulſed Forreigners, whilſt we have been moſt *powerful at Sea*; and therefore the conſtant Policies of this Kingdom have long aſpired too, and enjoyed a *Soveraignty of the Sea*, and kept a narrow and jealous watch on Neighbour-Nations, leaſt they ſhould aggrandize their Naval Strengths.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The ſeveral kinds of Forreign Trade, of trading with Home or Forreign Navigation, ſome general Application.

IT will be then proper to conſider how a Forreign Trade may be driven to moſt Advantage for the increaſe of *National Treaſure, People, and Navigation.*

A Forreign Trade may be driven by a Nation with *Forreign Navigation*, or with *Home Navigation.*

A Forreign Trade driven with *Forreign Navigation*, is when a Nation ſells its Commodities at Home to ſuch Forreigners as come thither to Buy and Export them.

This ſort of Forreign-Trade may enrich a Nation with Treaſure more or leſs, as the Commodities ſo ſold are of greater or leſſer quantity and value.

But it is very plain, that if the Natives had *Exported* the ſame Commodities to the ſame Forreigners in *Shipping of their own*, the ſame Commodities would have yielded a greater Rate in the Forreign Ports, becauſe the Natives muſt have been alſo paid for the *Carriage*; which by ſo much would have increaſed the

National Gain; wherefore it is more advantagious for a Nation to Export its own Commodities by Navigation of its own.

But it will not follow; that 'tis therefore neceſſary or fit to confine all Exportations to Home Navigation by Penal Laws, eſpecially in *England*, as will be ſhewn.

Nor does it follow that a Nation which doth Export its own Commodities, ſhall be alwayes richer than another that ſells at home; for the Commodities of one Nation ſold at home may yield ten times more money at home, than the Commodities exported by the other ſhall yield abroad, and therefore muſt make it ten times richer.

This may be verified in the Trade of *France*; whoſe Commodies ſold at home to the *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and others, for many years paſt, have brought vaſt quantities of money into *France*, perhaps more than all the Neighbour Nations have gotten by their exported Commodities, by which means, and no other, *France* is become the Terrour of the World, as I ſhall more particularly and fully ſhew.

A beneficial Forreign Trade, with home Navigation, may be ſaid to be of two ſorts:

The one conſiſts in the meer *Exportation* of home Commodities into Forreign Nations where they may be vended, of which I have ſpoken before.

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The other, in Trading and Huxtering *from Port to Port.*

The benefit of Trading or Huxtering from Port to Port conſiſts in buying Commodities cheaper in one Forreign Port, and ſelling them dearer in ſome others; in which caſe the Nation Trading ordinarily gets more or leſs, in proportion, as the Merchants buy for leſs and ſell for more, and as the Stock and Navigation imployed in this ſort of Trade is more or leſs.

The *Dutch* being to buy much of their Victuals, Cloaths, and other neceſſaries from abroad, and having little Commodities of their own to Export, put themſelves upon this Trading *from Port to Port*; which Trade they have improved to that degree, that they are become, as it were, the Common Carriers of the World, imploying near 30000 Trading-Veſſels, (including thoſe which belong to their Fiſhery.) In this way of Trade have this Induſtrious People yearly bought up vaſt quantities of *French* Manufactures and Commodities, and uttered them again for preſent profit in other parts of the World, not foreſeeing thoſe dangers they have been bringing upon themſelves and all *Europe.*

The *Engliſh* have never attained to near ſo Univerſal Manufacture as the *French*, or ſo general a huxtering Trade as the *Dutch*; But

yet until this laſt Age had a greater proportion of each then the *Dutch* or *French*; their Trade hath chiefly conſiſted in the Exportation of their own Commodities, and Manufactures made of their own home Materials; of which that of our *Wooll* being the Principal, was long thought and really ſtill is, or might be, the greateſt and richeſt in the World; This, with our exported *Tin*, *Lead*, *Iron*, *Allome*, *Fiſh*, and other valuable things, brought in a ſufficient quantity of Forreign Commodities to ſerve our National Occaſions, Pomp and Ornament, and left an Annual Increaſe of Imported Treaſure, which in length of time had much enriched the Nation, though our neat Annual Gain by Forreign Trade did never bring in much above 250000 *l.* or 300000 *per annum* increaſe of Treaſure, one year with another (taking any number of 20 years together) as may be reaſonably collected by what will follow; nor was that a Contemptible Gain (as the Trade of this part of the World formerly ſtood) ſince it had rendred this Kingdom as Rich and Happy at home, and as formidable abroad, as any in *Europe*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of Forreign Trade conſiſting in Exportation, of the advantages of home Manufactures, and Manufactures, incidently other home Trades and Imployments are conſidered; and which of them enrich a Nation; of the Fiſhing-Trade, and the annual exporting of Corn.

THe National Gain, by Forreign Trade, conſiſting either in vending home Commodies to Forreigners, or in Trading from Port to Port; It may be fit to be conſidered how theſe branches of Trade may be improved to the utmoſt.

Home Commodities vendible and exportable to Forreigners, are either ſuch as are Capable of little or no *Manufacture*, as Coals, &c.

Or elſe ſuch as may be manufactured, which may be called the *Principals or Materials* of Manufacture; ſuch are Wooll, Silk, Flax, Hemp, Tin, Iron, Skins, Corn, and others.

Moſt materials of Manufacture are of ſmall value whilſt raw and unwrought, at leaſt in Compariſon of the Manufacture, ſince by Manufacture they may be made of five, ten, or twenty times their firſt value, according to

the *Workmanſhip*; which is proved by the Woollen, Silk and Linnen Manufactures, and almoſt infinite others; wherefore if a Nation hath naturally any Materials of Manufacture, it is far more advantagious to Export them in Manufacture, rather than the raw Materials, becauſe the Manufacture is ſo much more valuable, and will make a return of five, ten, or twenty times more *Treaſure* to the Nation than the raw Materials.

Beſides, it is moſt dangerous to Export the Materials of Manufacture, ſince it may transfer the Manufacture it ſelf into ſome Neighbour Nation, and with it the incident Riches and Populacy; by which means a Neighbour-Nation may become five ten, or twenty times richer and ſtronger than that Nation which doth Export its Materials, and thoſe innocent Materials may in a ſhort time return in the ſhape of *armed Men and Ships*, to the Terror and Confuſion of an unwiſe and lazy People.

But if Forreigners will vend their *raw* Materials of Manufacture, it is neceſſary, or highly convenient for a Nation to Import them, and put them into Manufacture at home; after which, this Manufacture may be either exported and ſold for much more than the Materals coſt, or being uſed at home, will prevent the neceſſity of *Importing* the like

from

from abroad, by which the Nation will *ſave* to the value of the Manufacture: Thus do the *French* and *Dutch* manufacture Forreign Silk, *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Wooll, and many other Forreign Materials, which they Export and ſell again with prodigious advantage.

The *ſorts* of Manufacture are ſo various, and almoſt infinite, that there is no People ſo great or numerous but may be univerſally imployed by it; There are many which relate to *Eating and Drinking*, many more to *Apparel* of all ſorts, Furniture of *Houſes*, *Equipage*, *Navigation*, *War*, *Literature* and *Science*, unneceſſary, but acceptable *Toyes*, to gratifie the humors and follies of Men, Women, and Children, under all which generals, there are ſo many *ſpecies* of Manufactures, that the very naming of them would make a Volume, ſome are of *ſimple* Materials, ſome of *mixt*.

The Labours of the People beſtowed this way, muſt neceſſarily glomerate the Riches of the World, and muſt render any Nation a prodigy of Wealth; for whilſt vaſt numbers of Manufacturers are thus continually improving the value of ſome Commodities or other, they work for the *Nation* where they live as well as for themſelves; If 100000 Manufacturers get 6 *l. per annum* a piece, the Nation muſt gain or ſave 600000 *l. per annum* by

by their Labours, (ſuppoſing the Materials to be meliorated only to the value of their *Wages*;) If the number of the Manufacturers be greater, or if the ſame number gain more a piece, then is the National gain ſtill greater and greater in proportion: All which is too evident in the preſent inſtance of *France*, and the contrary in that of *Spain*, which although ſupplied with the Wealth of the *Indies*, is, for want of home Manufactures, the pooreſt and weakeſt of all Nations, and the moſt *diſpeopled*.

For by Manufactures, a Nation may ſupport many hundred thouſands of Families, beſides the meer Tillers of Lands and Keepers of Cattel, with increaſe of *people* ſhall live well, without being a clog and vexation to the Landholders, and ſhall be highly beneficial to the reſt of the Natives in times of Peace, as otherwiſe they will not be; and as the people increaſe, ſo may the kinds and quantities of Manufacture; the very *Women and Children* may ordinarily get good Livelihoods in Manufacture.

Hence muſt follow a ſweet Harmony in a Nation which hath property, when every ones Hand and Head is imployed, and when there comes a reciprocation of advantage to the Landholders, and all others, as neceſſarily there muſt; And as Manufacture ſeems a kind

of

of *debt* to the *laborious* part of the people, who by nature are intitled to live; ſo it is the higheſt of all *Charities*; as it is moſt ſubſtantial and univerſal; What ſignifies the diſtribution of a little *broken meat* amongſt a few Wretches, in Compariſon of the ſupport of hundreds of thouſands of Families? And laſtly, it is attended with the promiſed Rewards of Charity, *viz. Plenty, Glory, and Proſperity to a whole Nation.*

This, and what hath been ſaid in the laſt Section, may adminiſter occaſion to conſider what ſorts of Trades, Imployments, and Profeſſions do *add to the Riches of a Nation, and what not.*

It is evident that all ſorts of home Manufactures muſt advance or ſave the National Wealth, the like may be ſaid of thoſe who are imployed in the *Fiſhing-Trade*, ſo may the Trade and Profeſſion of a *Merchant* add to the National Riches.

There are another ſort of home-Traders, who live meerly by *buying cheaper and ſelling dearer at home*, ſuch are *Retailers* of all ſorts in the City and Country, whom we call *Shopkeepers*; of which a convenient number are neceſſary in every Nation to keep open *Marts and Markets* for the vending of Commodities; Theſe may advance their private Stocks and Eſtates by buying cheaper and ſelling

ſelling dearer, but cannot (meerly by this way of Trade) add a peny to the National Riches, ſo that it may truly be ſaid of one poor Manufacturer, that he adds more in a year to the Wealth of the Nation than all ſuch Retailers and Shop-keepers in *England.*

And if theſe Shop-keepers deal over-much in *Conſumptive Forreign Wares*, they may aſſiſt in the *beggary* of the Nation; ſo may the Trade of a Merchant *export and exhauſt* the National Riches, if he trade over-much in meer *Conſumptive Importations.*

And therefore though the *gain* of the perſons imployed be one main end and deſign of all Trades and Imployments, and in that reſpect they are all alike; Yet they differ in this; That in ſome of them the perſons imployed do immediately or ultimately gain money from *Forreigners*; But in the other, they gain from the *people*, and from *one another.*

Of the laſt ſort, are all Imployments relating to the *Law and Phyſick*, ſo are *Offices* of all kinds (which I do not ſay to inſinuate any of theſe Imployments to be *uſeleſs* in a Nation, or to diminiſh from that due reſpect which ought to be given to Men of Place.) There is no queſtion but they are highly neceſſary for the Regulation of the Body-Politick, and the Body-Natural; ſo are the

the *Clergy* for the Information of Mens Consciences; and therefore in every Nation convenient numbers of the people ought to be set apart for these purposes; But as far as they are *Imployments*, and intended for *private gain*, 'tis plain they add no Treasure to the Nation, but only enable the persons so imployed to share and heap up the Treasures already Imported; The like may be said of all other ways of living by meer *Literature and the Pen*, and some inferior In-land Imployments mentioned before; It must therefore be of dangerous Consequence if the Trade of a Nation run into over-much *Shop-keeping*, or if too many of the people withdrawing themselves from Manufactures, and the beneficial parts of Trade, should throng themselves into the *Clergy*, *Law*, *Physick*, *Literature*, and such other Professions as bring no *increase* of National Riches; And the rather, because these Imployments and Professions are *narrow*, and can support but a *few* Families in a Nation with convenience; so that it may endanger *Depopulation*, and by their numbers will prejudice one another; Whereas Manufacture and a great Forreign Trade, will admit of and oblige an increase of people even to infinity: And the more the Manufacturers increase, they will the more enrich one another, and the rest of the people; It may then be pro-

proper to inquire how the *Manufactures* of a Nation may be *increased and improved.*

This may be done either by enlarging former Manufactures, or by introducing new ones.

New Manufactures must be first taught, and then encouraged, and if made of Forreign Materials, the Materials must be Imported, after which, as the people find the sweet of their Labours, it is not to be questioned but that they will throng into the Imployment; they that want Bread, Cloathes, and other necessary Comforts, will be glad to obtain them honestly; Thus our King *Edward* the Third (a Wise and Victorious Prince) invited over the *Flemmings* to teach his Subjects the Woollen Manufacture; And thus have the *French* Policies invited over the most Exquisite Manufacturers into *France* from all parts of the World; these with their Schollars were first imployed at the Charge of the Government; But the Manufactures soon afterwards diffused into the gross Body of the people.

Without these primary Encouragements and Superintendence of the Government, it will be hard to nourish up any new Manufacture, or to enlarge any old ones, at least, suddenly, to any great degree.

Amongst

Amongſt the Exportations, the *Fiſhing-Trade* ought not to be forgotten, ſince, according to modern Calculations, the meer Fiſhing-Trade for *Herring and Cod* on the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland* imploys above 8000 *Dutch* Ships or Veſſels, 200000 of their Sea-men, and Fiſhers; And the Herrings and Cod ſold by the *Dutch* in Forreign Countries, do bring an Annual profit of about 5000000 *l. per annum* Sterling to that Nation: beſides which, 'tis accounted that there are at leaſt 25000 people more imployed and maintained at Home about this particular Navigation, making of Fiſhing-Nets, and the curing, ordering, and preparing of the Fiſh, &c. beſides the *Iſland*, *Newfound-Land*, and *Greenland*, fiſhings of very great advantage.

See Mr. *Smith* of Improvements, *pa.* 268, 269, 270. computes the whole profit of this Fiſhery to be ten millions ſterling: *per annum*, in a manner, all gained by other Nations.

But the ordinary Exportation of *Corn* out of the *Annual increaſe*, hath been accounted moſt dangerous, and of all others the moſt unprofitable, becauſe of the poſſibility of a dearth; which beſides the hardſhips of it, will give opportunity to Forreigners of drawing away vaſt Treaſures in a trice.

But if a Nation doth *ſtore* up Corn in cheap years, the people will be ſecure againſt a Dearth, and yet when Corn is exceſſive dear in

in Neighbour-Nations, may then take their time to furniſh them, and by that means will make much greater Advantages than by ordinary Exportation; And for this reaſon have the modern Policies of ſome wiſe Nations in Trade, contrived and erected *publick Storehouſes or Conſervatories for Corn.*

I ſhall conclude with the words of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in his excellent Obſervations upon Trade, preſented to King *James*. "*Amſterdam* is never without 700000 quarters of Corn, a dearth in *England*, *France*, "*Italy*, or *Portugal*, is truly obſerved to enrich *Holland* for ſeven years after; For example, the laſt Dearth ſix years paſt, the "*Hamburghers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders* out "of their *Storehouſes* furniſhed this Kingdom, "and from *Southampton*, *Exceſter*, and *Briſtol* "only, in a year and half, carried away near "200000 *l.* Then what great quantities of "Corn did they Tranſport from round about "the Kindgom? from every *Port-Town*, from "the City of *London*, and other Cities? it "cannot be eſteemed leſs than two Millions: "to the great decay and impoveriſhment of "the People, diſcredit to the Merchants, "diſhonour of the Land, &c.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe then a Dearth or Scarcity of Corn happen once in twenty or thirty years, the Annual Labours of the People in the produce of the exported Corn are loſt; 'tis alſo a *bulky* Commodity, and makes but a ſmall yearly Return, and the Forreign price and vent of it is very caſual, and incertain, for which Reaſons, of latter years, the ordinary exporting of Corn is uſed only by ſome poor Nations, who have little other Trade, 'tis ſaid the *French* King hath Ordered publick Stores and Conſervatories of Corn.

SECT. IV.

Of Forreign Trade from Port to Port, the Nature and Advantage of it, differs from meer Carriage, and meer Importation; the neceſſity of a Home Storehouſe: The ordinary Exporting of Money or Bullion, of dangerous Conſequence; how to be avoided: The Fiſhing-Trade, and Trade from Port to Port are the Nurſery and ſupport of Sea-men, and Sea-Towns; The Condition of Ours; The National Advantages of England *for all ſorts of Trade, yet hath the leaſt ſhare.*

SInce the Trade from *Port to Port* will cauſe a great *Navigation*, and alſo bring in very much *Treaſure*, and therefore if it be added to the Trade of *Exportation*, muſt render a Nation the Miracle of Riches and Power; I ſhall next conſider what this Trade from Port to Port really conſiſts in, and by what methods it may be driven moſt advantagiouſly to a Nation.

A Trade from *Port to Port* may be moſt properly ſo called, when a Merchant of one Nation buying Goods in another, the Property becomes his, and he carries them to a third

third Forreign Market on his own account; thus the *Dutch* buy up, Export and ſell the *French* Manufactures and Commodities; But if a *Dutch*-man carry *French* Goods to be ſold in a Forreign Market, on a *French mans account*, taking a certain Rate for the Hire of his Ship; this is not properly a Trade from Port to Port, but is *meer Carriage*; which ſort of Imployment (though it may ſeem leaſt Reputable) may increaſe the National Treaſure, as the Navigation uſed in it is more or leſs, and may imploy many Sea-men.

A Trade from Port to Port doth alſo differ from *meer Importation*, which is, when the Merchant does Import Conſumptive Commodities, which are ſpent at Home, in which caſe, if the Importations are *exceſſive*, it may truly be called *The Diſeaſe of Trade*, ſince it muſt cauſe an Exportation of the National Stock of Treaſure, and thereby may ſoon ruine a Nation, as will be ſhewn; But ſo cannot a Trade from Port to Port, truly ſo called, becauſe the Goods bought being ſold or bartered off, at other Forreign Ports, muſt be ultimately converted into more and more money, and thereby increaſe the home Treaſure.

This Trading from Port to Port, does not wholly conſiſt in the Carriage of a

Commodity from one Port directly to another; nor can be ſo driven to any great, or ordinary Advantage; for the Merchants thus Imployed, muſt either Trade *little*, or elſe muſt *glut* the Ports they go to with an over-great quantity of Goods of the ſame kind; and therefore for the full Improvement of a Trade from Port to Port, it is generally neceſſary, That the Merchants ſhould firſt unlade at Home, which will inevitably render a Nation ſo Trading a compleat and mighty *Storehouſe* of all Forreign Manufactures and Commodities; and then from this infinite Miſcellany of Goods (as the Merchants obſerve their time for a Market and the Ports they go to) they may freight their Ships with ſuch *ſortible Commodities and Cargoes*, as are proper and vendible to advantage; Thus are the *Dutch* Provinces become the mighty *Storehouſe* of the World; the Plenties of the World do grow and increaſe in other Countries, but there are the Stores, and thence do their Merchants furniſh themſelves for all ſorts of Voyages; "Thus "they Tranſport the Merchandizes of *France*, "*Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turky*, the *Eaſt* and "*Weſt Indies* to the Eaſt and North-Eaſt "Countries of *Pomerland*, *Spruſland*, *Muſ-*

"*covy*,

See Sir *William Temple's* Book of the *Dutch Cap. of Trade*, pag. 210. 232.

"covy, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Lieſland*, "*Swedeland*, *Germany*; and the Merchandi-"zes of the laſt mentioned Kingdoms they "tranſport into the Southern and Weſtern "Nations, as Sir *Walter Raileigh* long ſince noted, nor is a Trade from Port to Port practicable, or can be improved to any conſiderable or valuable degree, unleſs the Nation be made an univerſal Storehouſe.

In the Trade from Port to Port there muſt be ſome kinds of *Original Exportation*, becauſe the Merchant cannot purchaſe Forreign Goods in a Forreign Port for nothing.

And one would think it ſhould hardly be a queſtion, whether in this way of Trade it be moſt profitable to a Nation *to Export Manufacture, or other home Commodities, or Money, or Bullion.*

But of late years many of our Merchants very much contend for a Liberty to Export Money or Bullion as advantagious to the Trade of the Nation, and have gotten an Act of Parliament to Legitimate the exporting of Bullion, contrary to many other former Statutes, and now Bullion and Money alſo are become our uſual exportable Commodities.

Stat. reſtraining the Exportation of Money and Bullion are 9 *E.* 3. *Cap.* 1. 2 *H.* 4. 5*th* 5 *R.* 2. 2 *H.* 6. 6*th* 4 *H.* 7.23. 19 *H.*7.5.

The Exportation of Bullion Licenſed by a ſhort Clauſe of 15 *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 7. intituled *Trade Incouraged.*

But I ſhall oppoſe the ordinary Exporting of Money or Bullion in Trade, eſpecially as the Conſtitution of our Trade now is, for the Reaſons following:

Firſt, I ſhall admit that the exporting of Treaſure in the Trade from Port to Port may increaſe Treaſure, provided that the Merchant makes wiſe Bargains, and his Ships return ſafe, neither of which is altogether certain; But ſuppoſing the Merchant be both ſo wiſe and fortunate, yet 'tis very plain that in this way of Trade the Merchant cannot bring more new Treaſure to the *Nation* than the Merchant by his judicious and proſperous dealing and Voyage can *Add* to the Original Sum he *carried out.*

But had the *Merchant* taken off and exported to the ſame value in home *Manufacture or Commodity*, 'tis as plain that the very vending or bartering of that Manufacture or Commodity, would have been a farther Gain to the *Nation*, to the full value of the Manufacture or Commodity exported; ſince the Manufacture or home Commodity ſold would finally reſolve into Treaſure, nay, though the *Merchant* gain but little or nothing in this caſe, yet the *Nation* muſt be a Gainer to the value of the Manufacture or other Commodity exported.

As ſuppoſe a *Dutch* or *Engliſh* Ship go with exported Treaſure to *France*, where the Merchant buys *French* Wine for 1000 *l.* which afterwards he carries into the *Sound*, and there ſells it for 1300 *l.* the Merchant hath brought but 300 *l.* new Treaſure or Credit to the *Nation*; But had the Merchant Exported Herrings or home Manufacture, and by Sale or Barter of his Fiſh or Manufacture had purchaſed the ſame quantity of Wines, which afterwards he ſold for 1300 *l.* the *Nation* muſt preſently have a new Addition of Treaſure or Credit for the whole 1300 *l.* In which laſt Caſe the *Nation* gets a new 1000 *l.* by the labours of the Fiſhers or Manufacturers, beſides the 300 *l.* got by the Merchant; if the Merchant had got nothing, yet the *Nation* had gained 1000 *l.*

Secondly, In this laſt Caſe great numbers of Manufacturers, Fiſhers, &c. are kept and well maintained at Home, whereas the ordinary Exportation of Money muſt make them idle and uſeleſs; whereof the further Conſequence is, that the ordinary Exportation of Money muſt inevitably *depopulate* a Nation, if it be of any great extent of Territory; ſo muſt the Exportation of Bullion be attended with the ſame miſchiefs for the ſame reaſons: The Exportation of Bullion

does alſo open a way for the Exporting of Coined Treaſure, without any hazards of Seizure, by *melting* down the moſt valuable Coin into Bullion.

But I expect to be told that *Hamburgh* and *Holland*, *&c.* do allow of and uſe the Exportation of Treaſure.

To which I Anſwer, That there is no parallel between ſuch Countries as theſe and *England*; For theſe are little Territories, much conſiſting of Merchants, their Agents, Factors, and Dependents, who live by meer Merchandize, that the reſt of the people being but few (in Compariſon of what are neceſſary to people ſo great and fertile a Nation as *England*) may be ſupported with much fewer and leſſer Manufactures and home Employments; and therefore that the Exporting of Treaſure muſt be leſs dangerous, and perhaps may be the more neceſſary there, becauſe by the fewneſs of people, and conſequential reſtraint of Manufactures, their Merchants may be confined in the bulk and variety of home Commodities to Export.

If it be ſaid that no Nation can be ſo ſtored with home Commodities, as to Anſwer all Forreign Ports and Markets, and therefore that it may be ſometimes neceſſary to Export Treaſure in every trading Nation;

This

This perhaps may be true in ſome degree; But this is another queſtion; and in the mean time it remains that it is moſt profitable to a Nation to Export home Commodities (where it may be done) rather than Money or Bullion, and therefore that the Merchants ought to be reſtrained from it as much as it is poſſible.

Then as to the other queſtion, how far it may be *neceſſary* in a Nation to Export Money in Trade, It muſt depend upon the greater or leſſer Improvement of the National Trade.

For as a Nation hath a more univerſal Manufacture and Fiſhery, more Drinks, Fruits, Curioſities, and Delicacies of its own, its Merchants will be more and more enabled to Fraight themſelves outwards with home Commodities; Theſe mighty Stores of home Commodities can only be had in great fertile and populous Nations.

But ſuppoſe a Nation be not, or cannot be ſo fully ſtored with home Commodities as to Anſwer all Forreign Markets, yet its Merchants firſt Exporting home Commodities to Ports where they are Vendible, may by a Barter, Sale, or Exchange of theſe, and an eternal Succeſſion of Voyages and Contracts make the Nation where they

they live a *Storehouſe* to Perfection; and will then have the choice of all Merchandizes on the Earth to Export; and therefore may ordinarily and beneficially Trade to any Forreign Port without exporting Treaſure; And if they may, they will, becauſe elſe they will looſe the benefit of the Market for the goods they may Export; Thus even the *Dutch* originally Exporting Herring, Cod, Earthen Wares, Woollen Cloth, Linnen, and of late Silks, and other home Commodities, and having by the Barter or Sale of theſe compleated their home Storehouſe, can ordinarily buy at Foreign Markets, without Exporting Treaſure; By this means are the *Dutch* enabled to Trade as they do to *Swedeland*, *Liefeland*, and *Norway*, where by ſelling or bartering of their own and Forreign Commodities, they provide themſelves with the materials of Pitch, Tar, Hemp and Flax, neceſſary for Navigation, and with Timber, and other Commodities, for their uſe at Home, and Trade abroad, whilſt the ſame Commodities coſt the *Engliſh* ſome 100000 *l. per annum*, ſince the decay of our Cloth-Trade into thoſe Ports; which kind of Trade is doubtleſs advantagious to ſome Merchants (elſe they would not continue it;) But does help to drain the Nation of its Treaſure.

I do

I do not ſay they *Dutch* never Export Treaſure, but that by reaſon of their Forreign Storehouſe they are under no ſuch ordinary neceſſity to do it; and in fact Export little or none to many other Countries, where the *Engliſh* Trade with much: whereof I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more.

I ſhall conclude, that where the Home and Forreign Trade of a great and populous Nation is duly Regulated, and ſufficiently Improved, there will be little neceſſity to *Export Treaſure.*

To which I ſhall add, That the Exporting of Treaſure in a Nation, having ill methods of Trade, muſt be yet more dangerous, becauſe it facilitates *meer Importation*, and in *England* is chiefly ſerviceable to it, as will appear.

If a Trade from Port to Port be Improved to any great degree, it muſt neceſſarily very much increaſe the National Treaſure, and numbers of people, eſpecially *Sea-men.*

If 20000 Trading Veſſels add 300 *l. per annum* a piece to the National Stock yearly, the yearly National Gain muſt amount to 6000000 *l. per annum*, and ſo in any greater or leſſer proportion, as the Navigation or Gain is greater or leſs; of which

which we have a plain Example in the *Dutch*, who in about Ninety years time have arrived to a wonderful Wealth and Strength by it, though they have been always forced to buy much of their Victuals and Materials of Clothing, all their Materials of Shipping, and many other chargeable Neceſſaries from Forreigners, which muſt be a prodigious Annual Expence.

A Fiſhing-Trade is one great and certain *Nurſery of Sea-men*, and brings Wealth and Comfort to *Sea-Towns*; But a Flouriſhing Trade from Port to Port will make better and more Sea-men, inrich Sea-Towns more, and will Imploy very conſiderable numbers of people at Land, in Building, Manufacturing, Repairing; and other ordering of the Shipping, Tackle, and Goods Imported and Exported, beſides the Merchants and their more immediate Dependants; Thus do we ſee the Towns upon our oppoſite Shores abound in Riches and People, whilſt our own Sea-Towns languiſh more and more.

And from hence it may appear, that for the utmoſt advance of this Trade, it is neceſſary there ſhould be very much Shipping in a Nation, multitudes of Sea-men, great Stocks continually imployed in Merchandize,

chandize, great numbers of Merchants, and laſtly ſafe Ports and Harbours.

I ſhall end this with ſome retroſpect to the laſt Section, by obſerving, that no Nation in the World is naturally ſo adapted for a mighty Trade of all ſorts as *England.*

Firſt, Becauſe it hath more excellent *Native Commodities* than any one Nation in the World, as Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allome, Copperas, Saffron, Fell, the mighty Commodity of Wooll, Corn, convertible into Beer, and Tranſportable, beſides near 100 others, which are capable of near 1000 ſorts of Manufactures, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* obſerves.

That it is one of the moſt *Fertile* of Kingdoms, and therefore out of its own Stores might ſupport almoſt infinite numbers of people both for Manufactures at home, and Trade abroad, eſpecially as the Iſland might be improved.

That it hath more and ſafer *Ports* and Harbours than almoſt all the Nations in *Europe* put together.

That it is *better ſituated* for the Northern, Eaſtern, Southern and Weſtern Trades than any other Nation.

That the *Herring and Cod*, with which the *Dutch* drive ſo mighty a Trade, are caught

caught in our *Engliſh* Seas, upon our own Coaſts and Shores, and may be managed with more eaſe and advantage by the *Engliſh*, than by any other Nation.

And to conclude, That our *People* are ſtrong and able for Work at Home, generous and adventurous abroad, and ſuch as all the reſt of the World *have* moſt coveted to commerce with, and naturally as ingenious, induſtrious, and willing to labour as any part of Mankind, ſo long as they can have a reaſonable fruit of their Labours, which hath been evidenced by many former undeniable Experiences.

Notwithſtanding all which Advantages, *England* hath had very few conſiderable Manufactures, ſome of which are loſt, and the reſt decaying; nor have we any conſiderable remaining Trade from Port to Port, or Fiſhing-Trade, of which there are doubtleſs ſome Reaſons and Cauſes very fit to be underſtood and regulated, ſince the *Wealth, Strength, Happineſs and Safety of England* immediately depend upon it; I ſhall therefore in the three next enſuing Sections give an Account of ſuch particular *Obſtructions in our Trade*, as have fallen under my notice.

SECT.

SECT. V.

That our Home and Forreign Market is Incumbred, and prejudiced by extraordinary and unequal Charges, and Cloggs in our Merchandize above what are in our Neighbour-Nations, viz. *In the building and furniture of our Ships, Victuals, Sea-mens Wages, Customs, Interest-Money, &c. with the Consequences in our Manufactures and Forreign Trade; more particularly of the decay of our Woollen Manufacture: our Exportations now confined to our Importations and Imported Treasure, how to be enlarged, our casual dependence on the Trade of* Spain.

SUppoſing this or any other Nation had all the aforeſaid Grounds of Trade, *viz.* All ſorts of Home and Forreign Materials of Manufacture, ſufficient numbers of People, and thoſe inſtructed in Manufacture, ſuppoſing them never ſo induſtrious, that there were no want of Ships, Sea-men, or Stocks of Money, Ports or Plenties at home, yet there is another thing neceſſary, which is a *good and quick Vent and Market* for Commodities; without which all Manufactures will decay and expire, all other Exportations muſt fail, and the Trade from

from Port to Port can be no longer practicable or valuable.

For if the Manufacturer cannot ſell his Manufacture, he hath laboured to his great loſs; ſo if a Merchant buy Goods at one Forreign Port which he cannot ſell at another Forreign Port, he hath at leaſt loſt his Voyage, and the Charge of it; ſo if the Market be not abſolutely cloſed up, yet if it be prejudiced and ſpoiled to any great degree, the Merchant or Manufacturer will either diſcontinue preſently, or will Trade leſs and leſs, and will fling up ſpeedily if the Market doth not mend; for if men of Trade cannot ſell for reaſonable profit, but will be forced to live much worſe and poorer than other men of the like degree and eſtate in the ſame Nation, they will not continue long in ſo unprofitable a Toil.

The *Home* and *Forreign Market* bear ſuch a Simpathy one with the other, that Obſtructions in the Market at home, may ariſe from Obſtructions in the Forreign Market, as well as immediately from Cauſes at home.

For if the Forreign Market for Exportable Commodities fail in any degree, there muſt be a leſs and worſe Vent and Market at home for theſe Commodities; if the Forreign Market come to take off a *leſſer quantity* yearly

yearly than before, or at a *leſſer price*, the Natives muſt ſell a leſſer quantity, and at a leſſer price, to their Exporters and Merchants, who will not buy more than they can Vend again, nor ſo dear that they cannot vend them with ſufficient profit.

Now the courſe of our *Engliſh* Forreign Merchandize hath begotten an Obſtruction in the Forreign Market, becauſe our Merchants are liable to *greater Charges* in their way of Trade than the Merchants of our Neighbour Nations.

For all neceſſary Charge of the Merchant in his courſe of Trade is ſuper-added to the Original Coſt of his Commodity, ſo that the Merchant, upon ſale of the Commodity Exported, is under an Obligation to pay himſelf his Charge, and yet to ſell ſo, that he may make himſelf a reaſonable gainer beſides.

Then if a Forreign Merchant bring the ſame Manufacture or Commodity to the ſame Forreign Port with leſs charge, he will be able to under-ſell the *Engliſh*-Merchant as much as his charge is leſs, and yet ſhall get reaſonable profit.

And if the Merchants of other Nations be able to ſell for leſs, they will, nay perhaps muſt, (ſuppoſing that they drive an open Trade, and upon their diſtinct Stock) for then being incapable of *combining* to Impoſe prizes,

and desiring a quick Market (which is the life of Trade,) they will be worked down by the Forreign Buyers to take as moderate profit for their Goods as they can afford them at.

The Consequence of this is, that the *English* Merchant must either forbear Exporting, or else must sink his prizes on the *English* Manuactures, whereby the *English* Manufactures must be stifled or discouraged.

'Tis true, That if Nation hath some rich and necessary Material and Manufacture within it self, exclusive to other Nations, it hath the *Monopoly* of this Manufacture to the rest of the World, and therefore cannot be under-sold, but may vend it so as to pay all extraordinary Charges with sufficient gain to the Manufacturer and Merchant; which was heretofore the Case of *England* in the *Woollen Manufacture*.

But if a Manufacture or Commodity be common to *England* and *Holland*, or *England* and *France*, and the *Hollanders* or *French* can bring this Manufacture or Commodity cheaper to a third Forreign Port than the *English*, the *Hollanders* or *French* under-selling the *English*, will beat the *English* out of the Manufacture; It is accompted that the odds of two *per cent.* nay of one *per cent.* will produce this advantage.

An inequality of Charge on Merchandize

must

muſt alſo influence the Trade from Port to Port; For if the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchant coming to the ſame Port with the ſame Forreign Commodity, the *Dutch* can ordinarily under-ſell the *Engliſh*; it muſt alſo be of the ſame Conſequence in this ſort of Trade.

This happens to be the Caſe between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the *Dutch* being upon their defection from *Spain*, driven into great Exigencies, and therefore becoming ſtudious and emulous how to advance their Trade, have contrived all imaginable ways how to *Trade cheap*, whoſe Example other Neighbouring-States and Kingdoms have followed in a great degree, and the *French* amongſt the reſt, whilſt the *Engliſh* do not only proceed in their former more chargeable methods of Trade, but have clogged their Navigation and Merchants more and more, whereof I ſhall give ſome Inſtances, and ſhall leave the Computation of the odds to the Reader.

Firſt, The *Dutch* have found and long uſed ſuch a way of *building* their ordinary Trading *Ships* and *Veſſels*, that they will ſail with eight or ten men, when an *Engliſh* built Ship of about the ſame Burthen ſhall not ſail without near thirty men, ſo that the *Engliſh* Merchant muſt ordinarily be at more Charge for *Wages* and *Victuals* by two Thirds than the *Dutch*.

Secondly, The *Engliſh Cuſtoms* for Forreign

Goods Imported and Re-exported (though half the Cuſtoms paid are returned upon Re-exportation) are near twenty times greater than the *Dutch* Cuſtoms, and for home Commodities Exported, if not for all, are greater than the *Dutch* or *French* Cuſtoms, which does work a further Charge on the *Engliſh* Merchants. For,

Thirdly, By this means our *Engliſh* Merchants are ordinarily forced to keep near a fourth part of their Stocks dead at home to anſwer Cuſtoms, ſo that a *Dutch* Merchant may drive the ſame Trade with a much leſs Stock.

Fourthly, The late *Act of Navigation*, and the Act of 14 *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 11. confining the *Engliſh* Trade to Shipping built with *Engliſh Timber* (which is now exceeding ſcarce and dear.) The *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, *Hamburghers*, *&c.* can have Ship-Timber in *Germany*, *France* and *Denmark*, for leſs than half the price of ours. So by means of the ſame Acts of Navigation, have the *Dutch* and *French* their Cordage, Maſts, Sails, Tackle, Pitch and Tar, (being all neceſſary and chargeable Ingredients of Navigation) very much cheaper than the *Engliſh*, ſo that the *Hollanders*, or *French*, or *Danes*, nay, almoſt any other of our Neighbours, can build and apparel a Ship, or fit up and repair, at a leſs charge by half than the *Engliſh* can do; the

reaſon

reaſon of this is more at large Diſcourſed by Mr. *Roger Cooke* in his late Ingenious Treatiſes *Of Trade.*

And Fifthly, By means of the late *Iriſh Acts* againſt Importation of Cattel, the *Dutch* and *French* can and do *victual* their Ships cheaper with *Iriſh* Victuals than the *Engliſh* can do in *England*, whereas before, *England* could Victual cheaper than any Nation in *Europe.* 18 Car. 2. Cap. 2. & 20 Car. 2. Cap.

Sixthly, The *Engliſh* pay *6 per Cent. Intereſt for Money*, and the *Dutch* but 3 *per Cent.* or leſs, which is to our *Engliſh* Merchants of a ſtrange ill Conſequence, if we conſider our extraordinary Charges in Victuals, Wages, Shipping, and the money kept dead to anſwer Cuſtoms, beſides the Intereſt of the Stock actually imployed in Merchandize and Wars; for the Intereſt, with Intereſt upon Intereſt running up continually, does ſtill increaſe the Charge and Clogg upon our Merchants, but eſpecially muſt diſable us to make *England* a Storehouſe of Forreign Goods, ſince although they ſhould be bought and Imported as cheap as in *Holland*, they muſt yet become dearer for Re-exportation by the odds in the Intereſt; if the Annual Intereſt *per Cent.* were the ſame, yet the odds Note, no Intereſt is allowed in *France.*

in the Stock imployed would produce a vaſt odds in the Intereſt.

Seventhly, The Act of Navigation obliging us to ſail with ⅔ of our *Engliſh Sea-men* (of which we have but a few in Compariſon of the *Dutch*, who have at leaſt ten times more than we) hath given occaſion to our Sea-men to raiſe their Wages: To all which may be added our preſent Charge of Paſſes, ſuppoſing that any Forreign Nation can Trade without *Paſſes*, or procure them for leſs money; the like may be ſaid of our late Charge of *Ballaſtage*, *&c.*

Nay the *Dutch* are ſo curious, that for more cheapneſs and convenience, they build Ships of *divers makes*, *ſorts of Timber*, *and manner of Tackling*, for almoſt every Trade: whereas the *Engliſh* build or uſe but one ſort, and that the moſt chargeable.

Suppoſe then, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhould both Manufacture Silk, Linnen, Woollen, &c. and that an *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchant buying up theſe *Manufactures* at the ſame Rate at Home, ſhould Export them to a third Port where they are Vendible, 'tis plain that the *Dutch* Merchant being at leſs charge by at leaſt two thirds for Wages and Victuals, at leſs charge for Cuſtoms or Port-Duties, at a leſs charge by half in building and fitting up his Ship, and being ſo much eaſed in the

Intereſt

Intereſt of money, and other the ſaid particulars', may under-ſell the *Engliſh* Merchant a great many times 2 *per Cent.*

But much more will he be able to under-ſell the *Engliſh* Merchant in the Trade from *Port to Port*, becauſe of the exceſſive height of our Cuſtoms for Goods Imported and Re-exported, or if an *Engliſh* Merchant go directly from one Port to another, he will ſtill lie under the other in equalities of Charge.

Sir *Walter Rawligh*, in his time, obſerves, That if an *Engliſh* and *Holland* Ship of 200 Tun a piece be at *Dantzick*, the *Hollander* ſhould ſerve the Merchant cheaper by 100 *l.* than the *Engliſh*, being ſailed with nine or ten Mariners, but ours with thirty, yet our *Engliſh* Carpenters keep their old way of building to this day, and know no other.

Nor are the *Engliſh* for the ſame Reaſon capable of any Imployment in *meer Carriage* for any Forreigners, unleſs, perhaps, during the Convulſions of a War amongſt other Nations.

And for the ſame Reaſons the *Engliſh* can never drive any conſiderable *Fiſhing-Trade*, though we pay no Cuſtom for Fiſh.

This cheapneſs of the *Dutch*, and other Forreign Navigation and Trading, doth not only give advantage and preference to their own Manufactures, but to the Manufactures of all other Nations where there is an open, free and reaſonable Market; as ſuppoſe the *Dutch* buy *French*, *German*, or *Italian* Manu-

factures as cheap as the *Engliſh* Merchant can buy the like Manufactures in *England*, he may be able to under-ſell the *Engliſh* Merchant and Manufacture in a third Port, with gain to himſelf.

And hence it is that the *Dutch*, and other Forreign *cheap* Navigation, hath given riſe and growth to the *French*, *Dutch*, *German*, *Italian*, and other Forreign Manufactures; which, with the difficulties on our Trade at home, hath worked us out of near all our Manufactures, except what remains to us of our Cloathing-Trade.

So the cheapneſs of the *Dutch*, and other Forreign Navigation and Trading, hath in a manner beaten us out of all the Trade from Port to Port, and Fiſhing-Trade; the *Engliſh* retaining little from Port to Port, but the *Eaſt-India Trade*, for Callicoes, Pepper, &c. a Trade which continues upon a particular reaſon, diſtinct from all the reſt, as I ſhall alſo ſhew in the next Section.

And upon the former Reaſons, and others mentioned in this and the two next Sections, we muſt expect that the *Dutch* and *French* may in a ſhort time deſtroy our remaining *Woollen Manufacture*; the *Dutch* taking advantage of our miſ-management of our Cloth-Trade, of which I ſhall give a further account, found ways of getting our fine Wooll, which

mixing

mixing with fine *Spaniſh*, and by that mixture making a cheaper and more ſerviceable fine Cloth than with all *Spaniſh*, have been long high Competitors in the Trade of fine Cloth, and have actually beaten us out in the *Northern Eaſtland and German Trades*, and ſhare with us in the *Turky-Trade*, both *Dutch* and *French* getting what quantities they pleaſe of our long and middling-Wooll out of *England* and *Ireland* (which they now have cheaper than the *Engliſh* Clothiers from *Ireland*) do mix it with *French*, *Polonia*, or other Forreign Woolls, (which are two thirds cheaper than ours) and therewith make vaſt quantities of courſe Cloths, Druggets and Stuffs, which being acceptable and Merchandizable, they Export to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, and moſt other Parts.

Their *Competition* in the Cloathing-Trade, joined with ſome *Polonian*, *Sileſian*, *German*, and other later Manufactures of courſe Woolls, have already ſunk our Forreign *Market* and Vent; this hath ſunk the *price* of our raw Wooll, as neceſſarily it muſt, and as their Manufactures increaſe, and ours does expire, the *French* and *Dutch* muſt have our Wooll for what they pleaſe; and if they cannot have it at their own Rate at one of our Ports, they will go to another, and our neceſſitous People having their Wooll in their hands, will

will ſell almoſt at any Rate; which is ſo far the Caſe in *Ireland* already, that is there openly Exported at 6 or 7 *s.* the Tod; and then if we compute what a Tod of Wooll may ſtand the *French* or *Dutch* in, conſidering their cheap mixtures of *French*, *Poloniſh*, and other courſe Woolls, we may very ſuddenly expect to have our *Engliſh* Woolls at about 4 *s.* the Tod; for if the *Engliſh* Clothier gives more for his *Materials* than the *French* or *Dutch*, he cannot live: It is now in moſt parts of *England* at about 12 *s.* or 13 *s.* the Tod, in ſome places at 10 *s.* where of late years it was 30 and 40 *s.* the Tod.

The *French* and *Dutch* have long maligned this *Engliſh* Manufacture, and have now made a mighty progreſs towards its extirpation, and therein of the great ſupport of our *Engliſh* Nation; (doubtleſs the Wooll-Sacks were placed in our Houſe of Parliament to give us a precaution of it:) The *Dutch* of late have been ſomewhat checked in the *Turky-Trade* by the War; but the *French* are more vigilant and vigorous in the increaſe and vent of their Woollen Manufacture than ever; and the *Dutch are now at Peace again.*

I know ſome alledge, that theſe Nations may ſupport their preſent Woollen Manufacture without our Wooll, which our own *Engliſh Clothiers*, on their own experience, deny;

deny; They ſay that a mixture of fine *Engliſh*, and fine *Spaniſh*, makes Cloth ſo much cheaper and more ſerviceable then of all fine *Spaniſh*, That it muſt needs beat out any Forreign Manufacture made of all fine *Spaniſh*, (which is always near twice as dear as our fineſt *Engliſh* Wooll) and therefore have the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* near ſubverted the *Venetian* Cloth-Trade in *Turkey*; On the other ſide, They ſay that the *German*, *Polonia*, *Sileſian*, and *French*, are ſo courſe of themſelves, that although they may be wrought into an ill ſort of Compoſition, perhaps fit for Sails, or ſuch like; yet it is not *Merchandizable*; but in mixture with *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*; good dreſſing and dying will make very vendible and ſerviceable Stuffs, Druggets, and courſe Cloths.

Nor is there any ſhadow of reaſon to believe otherwiſe, conſidering how Ravenous the *French* and *Dutch* have been after our Wooll, ſince they ſet up their Woollen Manufactures; why have they and their Agents been lurking on our Coaſts and in our Creeks to fiſh it away for ſo many years? why have they given *treble* as much for it as for *Polonia* and *French*? ſhall we think the *Dutch* and *French* ſuch Fools and mad-men as to make ſo *laborious* and *dear* a Purchaſe of an unneceſſary Commodity? We are told of ſome fine *Sclavonian* Woolls which the *Dutch* make uſe of, but withall that they are not comparable to ours; nor of any conſide-

rable

rable *bulk*; and are aſſured by thoſe who ſhould beſt underſtand it, that no Nation but *England* hath a ſufficient ſtore of Wooll to drive a Forreign Trade of any Conſequence.

There is no queſtion, but that if we did manufacture all our Wooll, we might again near Monopolize the Merchandize and Forreign Trade of Woollen-Cloathing, though perhaps ſome Forreign Manufactures of courſe Woolls might be kept up for the uſe of the ordinary poorer people at Home; at leaſt it muſt be admitted, that if we did manufacture all our *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Wooll*, it would find vent in the World, ſince it is now all manufactured in *England*, *France* and *Holland*, and doth find vent in the aforeſaid *mixtures*; by which the bulk of the Manufacture muſt be much increaſed.

Then if the queſtion be how we ſhall arrive to the ſole Manufacture of our own *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Wooll, it muſt appear upon what hath been ſaid, that the only ſafe Expedient muſt be by *eaſing* our Navigation and Trade equally with Forreigners, in which Caſe having ſo much advantage in the Materials, we could not fail of an anſwerable ſucceſs in the Manufacture; long Experience hath demonſtrated that the *meer prohibiting* of the Exportation of Wooll is but a Cobweb, the *Dutch* and *French* being con-

conſtantly ſupplied with what quantities they pleaſe to have, and ever will be, as long as their advantages in Trade will enable them to give more for our Woolls than our *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Natives: for ſo long the Intereſts of our People will teach them ways to Elude or Baffle the Prohibition; For this reaſon our late Act of 12 *Car.* 2. *Cap.*22. which makes it Felony to Export Wooll, hath nothing remedied the miſchief. Upon what hath been ſaid, I may further add, That thoſe who think to better our Trade in general by the forceable ſubverſion of the *Dutch* Trade and Navigation, are as much miſtaken; ſince the *Hamburgers*, and other Trading States, the *French*, and other Kingdoms, who have eaſed their Merchandize and Navigation, would then take the place of the *Dutch*, and would ſhare the Trade, and exclude the *Engliſh*, unleſs our Trade were equally eaſed.

I ſhall conclude this Section with this farther Obſervation, That for the opening of a ſufficient Forreign Vent and Market for our Home Commodities, whether Manufactures, Fiſh, or others; it is not only neceſſary to remove all unequal cloggs on meer Exportations, but alſo thoſe on Imported Goods; becauſe that whilſt the *Engliſh* Merchant, by the Charges on Imported Goods, is ordinarily diſabled to Trade from Port to Port, the value

value of our *Engliſh* Exportations muſt be in a manner *confined* to the value of the *Goods Imported*, and conſumed at Home, and the Treaſure we Import *in ſpecie* yearly.

Whereas were the cloggs on our Imported Goods taken off, we might yearly vend of our own Home Commodities to the value of all the Forreign Goods we ſhould then Import and Re-export, to ſerve the Occaſions of all other Nations, (for theſe we might purchaſe by Barter or Sale of our own) whereby our Exported Home Commodities would then amount to much more, probably to more than ten times the value they now do yearly; All which in the courſe of Trade from Port to Port would reſolve into more and more Treaſure and Riches of all ſorts.

And therefore, let the Treaſure now Imported *in ſpecie* be more or leſs, 'tis evident, that were our Merchants enabled to Trade from Port, as the *Dutch*, and others, can and do, as our Manufactures, and other Home Commodities, Exported yearly would be vaſtly more in quantity and value, ſo would the Treaſure Imported yearly.

Secondly, The Exportation of *Engliſh* home Commodity is yet farther confined, when inſtead of home Commodity to anſwer the Imported Goods and Treaſure, we Export ſo much Treaſure as we do; In which Caſe if the

the Treaſure Exported be more than is Imported yearly, this Kingdom muſt inſenſibly be beggered by meer Trade.

This may be feared to be our Caſe, becauſe there are very few Forreign Nations (I think none worth the naming but *Spain*) where our Merchants can ordinarily ſell our Commodity for ready money, or with ſo much advantage, that they can afford to return with the price received, but will be obliged to better their Adventures by laying out the money again on Conſumptive Forreign Goods, or elſe apply it to ſatisfie Forreign Debts by Bills of Exchange; This many of our *Spaniſh* Traders do, ſo that our Merchants Import much leſs Treaſure than they receive; and it may not be improper to be added here, that whilſt the virtue of our whole Trade (as now managed) does ſtill depend ſo much on that with *Spain*, our Support is very *ſingle* and *caſual*, and the Conſequence muſt be fatal, ſhould the *Spaniard* be rendred either *unable* or *unwilling* to Trade longer with us; our Caſe is already thus, far worſe than it was, that *Spain* is grown poor and weak, and the *Dutch* and *French* ſhare and grow upon us in this Trade.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Other Cloggs on our Trade, viz. *The late Acts of Navigation, which, with the other difficulties have begot Monopolies; made our Navigation yet dearer, ſo Forreign Materials of Manufacture cauſe meer Importations, hinder our Forreign vent of Victuals, obliges a ſudden Conſumption of our remaining Ship-Timber, particular dangers and conſequences thereof; Our Navigation cannot be increaſed whilſt we are reſtrained in Trade: The exhauſting of our Treaſure muſt ſubvert our Navigation: The advantages of Forreigners, of Trading by Companies, and the different Nature of Ours, more particularly of our* African *and* Eaſt-India *Companies and Trade: divers ill Conſequences of Joint-Stocks; therein more of Monopolies. Long Land Carriages to* London; *the Market there delayed. Odds in Intereſt-Money muſt prejudice our Manufactures: private Intereſt obſerved. Our affectation of Forreign Commodities: the prejudice of obſtructing the vent of Manufactures. Our Manufacturers liable to be impoſed upon by our Merchants, and by Ingroſſers, a diſadvantage by the Reſtitution of half Cuſtoms on the Re-exportation.*

IT being natural, That the continuance of one inconvenience ſhould beget many others, it hath ſo fallen out in *England.*

Our Natives diſcerning the odds of Charge between our own and Forreign Navigation, and being therefore tempted to Trade in Forreign Ships, or to deal with Forreign Importers, (which threatned the ſubverſion of our *Engliſh* Navigation, and the *Importing Trade* of our *Engliſh* Merchants) inſtead of Regulating our Navigation,

vigation, the late Act of Navigation was made, whereby, and by other Acts, our *Engliſh* Exportations are expreſly or virtually confined to our own *Engliſh* built Shipping, ſo is the Importation of Forreign Goods, or elſe to the Forreign Natives of whoſe growths or productions they are; which reſtraint hath *begotten*, or (jointly with the other cloggs on our Forreign Merchandize) hath *heightned*, theſe farther Inconveniencies.

12 Car. 2. ca. 18. 13 Car. 2. c. 14. 14 Car. 2. ca. 11. 15 Car. 2. c. 7.

Firſt, It hath given a *Monopoly to our own Merchants*, upon our Manufacturers and People, for our own exportable Manufactures and Commodities.

Secondly, It hath given a *Monopoly to our own Merchants* upon all the people of *England*, for Goods Imported.

Thirdly, The ſaid Act of Navigation obliging the *Engliſh* to buy Imported Goods only at thoſe Ports, or of thoſe Natives, of whoſe growths and productions they are, hath given *Monopolies to all Forreigners* on the *Engliſh* for Goods of their reſpective growths and productions; the *Danes* (for inſtance) taking advantage of it, very much raiſed their Prizes and Cuſtoms upon us, for Pitch, Tar, and Timber, forcing us to pay near double what we did, and to pay them in money, where

See Mr. *Coke*'s Third Treatiſe *Of Trade.*

we uſed to barter with them for Commodity; the like may be ſaid of the *French*, thoſe of the *Canary*-Iſlands, and others, particularly the *Leiflanders*, for raw Hemp and Flax; at the beſt we are but at mercy.

Fourthly, This Act hath made our Navigation yet *more chargeable* than before, becauſe the aforeſaid Forreign Materials of Pitch, Tar, raw Hemp and Flax are thereby made very much the dearer; It doth alſo render *Engliſh* Ship-Timber ſtill dearer and dearer, which muſt more and more diſable and diſcourage us in the building of Ships for Trade, and gives a great and dangerous advantage to our Neighbours in the building of *Ships of War* ſo much cheaper than we.

Fifthly, This dearneſs of Shipping muſt the more prejudice the vent of our Manufactures made of our *own Materials*, and diſable us in the Trade from Port to Port, for the Reaſons in the laſt Section.

Sixthly, The ſame *dearneſs of Shipping, with the other unequal charges on our Forreign Merchandize*, muſt render all *Forreign materials of Manufacture* imported much dearer in *England* than in other Neighbour-Nations, (ſuch are Hemp, Flax, Silk, and many others of great conſequence) and then our Manufacturers buying the Materials dearer, are obliged to ſell their Manufactures dearer, which muſt hinder their vent at home as well as their Exportation abroad,

and

and conſequently the riſe and growth of all our Manufactures made of Forreign Materials, and accordingly we ſee our Manufactures of Linnen, Cables, Sails, Sea-Nets, and Silk of all ſorts, are ſome of them in a manner loſt, the reſt much decayed; which I the rather mention, that this, and what I ſay elſewhere, may take off ſome ignorant and unreaſonable Reproaches againſt the *Engliſh* Manufacturers, for not ſelling ſome Manufactures ſo cheap as in other Nations, ſince they are neceſſitated to it by theſe and ſome other difficulties upon them, which I ſhall take notice of in this and the next Section, as I ſhall have occaſion.

Seventhly, This reſtraint to our dear *Engliſh* Navigation, *and Charges on our Merchandize*, does by Conſequence tend to introduce the *Diſeaſe of Trade*, conſiſting in *meer Importation*; for as our Manufactures expire, there is a farther occaſion of Importing Forreign Manufactures, eſpecially if on this, and other Accounts, they may be ſold cheaper here than our own: And hence it is, that we have a prodigious increaſe of Imported Linnens, Silks, &c. and that we are of late forced to buy much more of our Cables, Cordage, Sails, and divers other Manufactures from the *Dutch*, *French*, *Germans*, *&c.* than formerly we did; in all which our Merchants muſt be greater gainers *for a time*, becauſe our occaſions for Forreign Goods being greater, they Import and ſell the more at home; and from more

and greater Sales must get the more money of *our Natives*, and the rather, because of their *Monopoly* on the rest of the people for Imported Goods, which does enable them to sell so at home, as to reimburse themselves all their Charges, with extraordinary profit.

Eighthly, The said Restraint excluding great numbers of Forreign Ships from our Ports must hinder the vending of great proportions of our Beef, Pork, Corn, Beer, Clothing, and other Necessaries.

Ninthly, The dearness of the *English* Timber, arising from the scarcity of it, the said Act doth oblige us to a kind of impossibility, there being not Timber enough in *England* to support any considerable Navigation, at least for any continuance of time; which small remnant of Timber we are forced to spend so fast in the building or repairing of ordinary Vessels, that we shall soon see the end of it, and then in any great Exigence we must seek out for Forreign Timber to build Ships of War, for which the Timber now remaining might be reserved.

Tenthly, Whereas the increase and support of Navigation depends on the ordinary Imployment of Ships and Sea-men in Trade, of which far the greatest numbers are to be maintained in the Fishing-Trade, and Trade from Port to Port, the *English* being, by the Acts of Navigation, and *other difficulties*, disabled from those Trades, can never increase their Navigation, and upon

a small

a ſmall increaſe of Shipping muſt be *over-clogg'd*.

Eleventhly, The Act of Navigation giving *Forreigners election* either to ſell their Goods to the *Engliſh* at home, or to Import them into *England*, is ſo far from incouraging our Navigation, that it hath put it into the choice of Forreigners, whether theirs or our Shipping ſhall be imployed, which, with the dearneſs of ours, hath already increaſed the Navigation of our Neighbours, but hath reduced ours.

See Mr. *Coke*'s Treatiſes *Of Trade*, this largely and moſt rationally diſcourſed.

And laſtly, As the dearneſs of our Navigation and courſe of Merchandize eſtabliſhed by this Act does run us into an *Exceſs of Importations*, our Treaſures muſt be exhauſted, and then the remnant of our Shipping muſt be becalmed, and our Sea-men will leave us, as they already do, which I ſhall more particularly obſerve in the following Sections.

In the mean time it muſt be apparent, that if we had diſpoſed our ſelves to a cheaper way of building and ſailing, our Trading-Ships (being as practicable here as in *Holland*) and had eaſed our Merchandize and Trade to an equal degree, theſe, and all other the aforeſaid Miſchiefs, had been prevented, and we might have ſupported a more ſwelling and beneficial Navigation than that of the *United Provinces*; who are ſo far from making uſe of any Expedient of this Nature, that they allow *Free Commerce*

merce to all Forreigners, and their Ships; nor can the like Expedient be found in any Nation on the Earth, who have or aſpire to a great Navigation or Trade; 'Tis confeſſed the like Act was made by the *Rump*, but 'twas on the occaſion of their *Dutch War*, and intended (as 'tis ſaid) to exclude the *Dutch* from the benefit of our Trade and Ports; however it were, we are not to learn the *Rump* might be miſtaken in their Calculations.

If the people of a Nation have free Liberty to ſell at home to all Merchants, they muſt neceſſarily have the utmoſt choice of Chapmen for Manufactures and home Commodities, and by conſequence the *beſt and utmoſt Market and Vent* as far as the Stocks, Treaſures, Induſtry, Navigations and Occaſions of the *World* will bear, and it is known that the moſt *thrifty* Merchants, and *near Livers*, and thoſe that Trade moſt *univerſally*, and with the *greateſt Stocks*, and *cheapeſt*, are ordinarily able to buy deareſt, and ſell cheapeſt; and if our Natives were un-confined, they would have Liberty to deal with any Forreigners on the Earth thus qualified; But our Natives being reſtrained to our own Merchants, and their own National Stock in Merchandize; let the particular Stocks of our Merchants be never ſo *ſmall*, let them Trade never ſo *dear*, or ſo *little*, let them live never ſo *high and coſtly*, yet our Natives Manufactures and others muſt *pay for all*, by ſelling cheaper to

our

our Merchants, and buying of them dearer; for the Merchants are in a capacity to buy ſo and ſell ſo at home, as to ſatisfie themſelves, and maintain the Equipage they live in, with much overplus.

But our *Clothiers*, and ſome others, have complained, that they are yet farther confined in their *choice* of Chapmen, ſince the *Engliſh* Merchants are confined to the *Trading Companies* and their ſtocks; which does firſt give me occaſion to conſider the *Conſtitutions* of our *Engliſh* Forreign Trading-Companies, and of what *conſequence* they are in Trade.

This I ſhall do (as I think it will appear) without any partiality, proteſting that I bear no malice or perſonal ill will againſt any Company, or Member of any Company in *England*, but on the contrary, have an high eſteem for as many of theſe and other Merchants as I am acquainted with, having found them very worthy men, and ſuch as much deſire the general Good, and therefore hope they will cloſe with the Common Intereſt in what relates to themſelves.

Particular men have too long flattered themſelves with a corrupt opinion, that they may gain by the common loſs, and that it will *hold out their times*, which I do not ſay with any particular Reflection on theſe, or any other Traders; being the ordinary *maxim* or *prudential* of our *cunning men* of all kinds.

Of the firſt and more ancient ſort are our *Regu-*

Regulated Companies, or ſuch as are ſo called, ſuch as are the *Turky*, *Hamburgh*, *Muſcovy*, and *Eaſtland* Companies, whoſe Incorporations have been always accompted *Legal*, being *intended* for the better Regulation of ſome particular Forreign Trades, and for the raiſing and ſupport of Common Charges, and for thoſe purpoſes are enabled to *act by Committees*.

The Members of theſe Companies trading on their *diſtinct ſtocks*, ſeem to leave the ſame choice of Chapmen to our Manufacturers, wherefore I cannot obſerve but that ſuch Companies might conſiſt with a Flouriſhing Trade, if according to their Appellations they be *really Regulated*, (that is) provided all *Engliſh*-men (according to their Right) be left at liberty *to become Members*, and Trade, upon Terms that are not *oppreſſive*. Secondly, That theſe Companies be not permitted to make ſuch *By-Laws* for their private ends, as may prove advantagious to the Members of the Company, but prejudicial to the Nation; a thing very practicable, as ſuppoſe they ſhould prolong their times of buying our home Commodities, or confine the Market to ſome ſuch particular *places* at home as may be convenient for themſelves, but injurious to our Manufacturers, or other Natives, or ſhould Trade to few Ports where they can have extraordinary Rates and Terms, when they might Trade to more, and conſequently vend more Commodity; or ſhould endeavour to ſet the Dice on

Forreigners

Foreigners, by Arbitrary prizes or otherwiſe, whereby Forreigners may be diſaffected with our Commerce; experience hath ſhown that private intereſt hath carryed ſome of them into ſuch or the like irregularities, it would be too long to inſtance in particulars, I ſhall only ſay, that thoſe of the laſt ſort made Forreigners the more Impatient till they had ſet up their woollen Manufactures.

Our *Eaſt-India* and *Affrican Companies* are of another kind, and of a latter creation, having gotten *Pattents* of the Sole Trade of great part of the World *excluſive* to the reſt of his Majeſties Subjects, which they manage upon *Joynt-ſtocks*; of which I ſhall ſhew the generall ordinary conſequences, and then examine how far they are applicable to the particular Caſes of theſe Companies.

The preſent *Eaſt-India* Pattent granted 13 *July* 1660. That to the *Affrican* Company ſince.

Firſt, in the *nature* of ſuch Companies they muſt be as injurious as may be to all home-Manufactures made of our own materialls, and the vent of our other exports, becauſe by trading on a *Joynt-ſtock* they make but *one buyer*, and therefore have a *Monopoly* for all exportable goods proper *only* for the Forreign Nations within their pattents, and muſt contract the choice of Chapmen *for all other goods* proper for theſe and other Countrys; now

the confining of the Market and choice of Chapmen in any degree is dangerous and prejudiciall to Trade, and in a larger ſence may be called a Monopoly, but it is far more miſchievous when the Election is totally loſt, for then thoſe who have the Monopoly *may*, and therefore *will*, buy at their own prizes.

Secondly, for the ſame reaſon they muſt be yet more injurious to home-Manufactures made of forreign materialls; for firſt, they will ſell the materialls as *dear*, and then buy the Manufacture as *cheap as they pleaſe*; which muſt ſubvert any Manufacture in a trice, eſpecially if made of forreign materials bought cheaper by forreign Manufacturers; ſuppoſe then the *Eaſt-India Company* by their Commodity of Money, ſhould ſo far divert the market as to beat out the *Turky Company* in the trade of *Raw-Silks*, at what rates would our *Silk-weavers* buy raw-ſilks? or will it be ſaid a Company on a Joynt-ſtock, will ſo much value the National intereſt as to ſell as low as the Commodity is ſold for in other Nations? or if it will be ſaid, who will believe it? was ever any ſuch thing done either by the Engliſh, Dutch, or *Eaſt-India Companies*? did they ever yet endeavour to beat out one another in trade by low ſelling? No, this is never the effect of choice; were a third *Eaſt-India* Company in *France* on a Joynt-ſtock, they would

would hold up the prizes; the advantage got to a Nation by underſelling is the effect of neceſſity, or high convenience; when the Sellers being infinite, ſome of them are ready, and all long for diſpatch and a new adventure, whereby they work down one another to as low a prize as the Commodity can be afforded at; of all which we have an undeniable example in the preſent *African Company*, who were no ſooner Conſtituted, but they raiſed the price of imported *red-wood*, which before was ſold at 26. and 28*l. per* Tun, to 80*l. per* Tun, which muſt make our exported dyed Cloaths of all ſorts ſo much the dearer; and being an intolerable rate, put our Dyers upon finding out the uſe of *Saunders*, which they ſtill continue; and as a farther confirmation of this, and what I ſaid before, I ſhall add, that after the Election of this Company, all goods proper for that Trade only ſunk at leaſt 15*l. per Cent.* nor would the 10*th.* part of the ſame goods be vended to the ſaid Company as there was before, to our Merchants driving an *open Trade.*

Thirdly, For the ſame reaſon ſuch a Company muſt be as injurious to the Trade from *port to port*; For having alſo a Monopoly in ſelling, they may and will impoſe Arbitrary prizes on the buyers, and then the Merchants or Re-exporters who buy goods ſo dear, muſt

be underſold by any other Nation which drives a *free and open Trade* to the ſame place from whence they are Imported; this is ſelf-evident, and therefore I ſhould not inſtance in Fact, but that I have it on good Authority; that even in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, which is *Alledged* to be out of the common Rules of Trade, whilſt the Trade was open, *viz.* In the Years 54, 55, and 56. our Merchants ſold the *Indian* Commodities ſo low, that they furniſhed more parts of *Europe* then ſince we have done, nay, *Holland* and *Amſterdam* it ſelf; and that this very much ſunk the Actions of the *Dutch Eaſt-India Company*: a thing which ſtands with reaſon; and which therefore recommends an *open Trade* to India, *if it may be ſo driven with long continuance*, whereof I ſhall farther conſider.

Fourthly, Theſe Companies having alſo *Monopolies on theſe Forreign Natives* with whom they Trade, may ſet Arbitrary prizes upon them, for our home-Manufactures exported; and will get more, by ſelling a little very dear, then by ſelling much more at moderate profit: and though the Joynt-ſtock imployed *be not ſufficient* to manage the Trade any thing near the full advantage, yet thoſe intereſted in it, will have reaſon to be ſatisfyed with the returns they make, ſince in proportion to the Stock, they may be very great

great; and for the ſame reaſon, may be well contented to Trade to a *few Ports* where they can have *great rates*.

5*ly*, The induſtry, courage and ingenuity of all the reſt of the Natives (by which as much as by ſtock all Trade is improved) are ſhut out, which muſt not only be a prejudice to the Trade in general, but is a hardſhip put on the reſt, *who by their birth rights are equally intituled to all Trade*; upon all which accompts, the *Legality* of ſole importing, ſole buying, and ſole vending, hath been formerly brought in queſtion, and denyed in our greateſt Judicatures; and ſhould it be generally admitted, by the ſame reaſon, the reſt of our Forreign Trade might be incloſed to two or three more Companys, and then we ſhould have but three or four Chapmen or Shops for all Exported and Imported Commodities; nay the whole might be granted or reſerved to *one Company*, or *one man*: in any of which Caſes what would become of *property*? Such is the Caſe of *the general body* of our *Merchants* already, that having in a manner loſt the *Eaſtland* and *Northern* Trades, they are ſhut out of the *Affrican*, *Indian*, and *Perſian*, *Chineſe*, and other mighty Trades within thoſe *Patents*: ſince this out of the *French* trade, and therefore are thronged into

Stat. 21. *Jacob.* 3. 12. *Hen.* 7. cap. 6th. 3. *Jac.* cap. 6th.

into the *Streights*, and other narrow remnants, and yet is this the uſual preferment of moſt of the younger Sons of the *Gentry of England*.

Sixthly, Though our other Merchants on their ſingle accompts export much treaſure, yet cannot it ſo eaſily be done, or not in ſo great Quality, as by ſuch a Company; whoſe Joint ſtock having a great credit, can take up as much ready money as they want; whereas thoſe who will not truſt a ſingle trader with a 100*l.* in *mony* will truſt him with 500*l.* worth of Commodity, as common exerience ſhews: and 'tis affirmed, that during our trade in 54. and 55. we exported more Commodities, *viz.* cloth, & other things, then ſince we have done

To this is Objected, that the *Eaſt-India* trade ſo far differs from others, that it cannot be ſupported, *or not with ſo much advantage and ſecurity, (which I admit to be all one)* without a Joint ſtock, which if true, there is no doubt but it ought to be ſo managed. This then is one great Queſtion, in the mean time I hear nothing of this ſo much as alledged for the *African* Company: the reaſons given, depend upon pretended *Facts* in *India*, *viz.* the neceſſity of great common charges in gratifying and correſponding with the *Indian Princes*, and keeping *Forts and Forces* for the defence of our Factories there, which they ſay could never be ſupported but out of a Joint ſtock in Trade.

To

To which others anſwer, 1*ſt*. that it may be true, great common charges are neceſſſary, *& much greater then our Company are at*, but that *common charges* may be rais'd by a *regulated company* on *Goods* imploy'd in Trade, or on other parts of the Traders Eſtates, if the Company are Impower'd to make Levies, which is no more then every Pariſh are enabled to do for Church-Poor and other things: and that 'tis the ſame thing for a man to be aſſubjected to Levies out of that part of his diſtinct ſtock which is not in trade, as 'tis to make good any publick charge or loſs out of his Joint-ſtock.

Or Secondly, they ſay, that if this Trade be taken into the protection of the *Government*, it will have the Joint ſtock of the *Kingdom* to ſecure it, the ſame by which we are all ſecured: they offer what we were able to do in our open Trade in 1654. 55. and 56. But as a demonſtration, urge the example of the *Portugueſe*, who in an open Trade (I do not mean in an *Anarchy* nor without *conduct* and *order*) made near or full as great a progreſs in this Trade as the *Dutch*, whileſt their Government gave ſufficient aſſiſtance, which they ſay, alſo anſwers what hath been objected from the *ſuppoſed diſorder of our Trade in thoſe parts, ſhould it lye open, and the capacity the Natives would be then in, of ſetting the dice upon the Engliſh*: and as a further anſwer to this they

say, the same thing may be objected against all other open Trade in the World.

But then those for our Company, object the Example of the *Dutch*, who being a Nation so wise in Trade, successfully manage the *East-India* Trade by a Company on a Joint stock; which being matter of fact, is beyond all the Argument in the World.

To which is answered, that this Example proves that a Company in a Joint stock may make a great progress in it, but does not disprove the like, or a greater progress under a regulated or open Trade.

2*ly*. That on the first custom of this Company, and ever since, the *Dutch* had most of the Trade from Port to Port, and carriage throughout the rest of the World; and therefore might with less disadvantage to the rest of the Dutch Merchants inclose this to a Company.

3*ly*, That that Company was occasioned by the distinct Bands or voluntary Associations of Merchants in the several Provinces, who first undertook this Trade, which being soon after the Union, and the Provinces having Originally seperate rights, the said Associations had not so good a correspondence as was necessary, which could never fall

See the present state of the low Countrys, Printed in 69. Written by *M. A.* Fellow of the Royal Society, p. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

fall out under a regulated Company of one Nation.

4*ly*, That the conſtitution of this Company being intended for a preſent Reconciliation of theſe intereſts, was Originally but for 21. Years, and was afterwards continued, becauſe the Company growing ſo rich and powerfull both abroad and at home, the Members were generally *choſen States*, and therefore above any attacque at home from the reſt. See *Mandelſloes* Travells, p. 185.

5*ly*, That as the *Dutch* Company is conſtituted, and have managed this Trade, it hath redownded to almoſt, if not fully to as *general* an advantage, as if managed by an open or regulated Trade: in which they ſay our Company is much defective; & that ſuppoſing a Joint ſtock neceſſary, or highly convenient, yet if we might manage ours to more National advantage, it were but fit it ſhould be done.

To prove this might be done, thoſe for a more open Trade urge, that our now *Eaſt-India patent* contains near or fully *one third part of the World*, and therefore muſt have many hundreds, if not thouſands of parts, that whereas their *priviledge* begins at the *Cape of good Hope*, it is from thence above 4000 Miles, upon the Coaſt of *Affrick* to the *Red Sea*, in all Note the *Affrican* Companys Patent contains from the *Streights* Mouth to the *Cape of good Hope*.

which

which they do not Trade to one Port, and very little, if any thing, in the *Red Sea*: which they say might be done to considerable advantage, and much more to *Persia*, then we now do; That in *India* our Company do not Trade to above 20. or 30. Ports, nor vend our Woollen Manufactures at above 3. or 4. Ports, and there *very dear*, who sell again much dearer, and to *Ingrossers*, which hinders the vent: that in *China*, or *Japan*, they have no Trade at all, 'where (to use these words of the Author of the Book in defence of the Company,) in all likelyhood more considerable 'quantities of our Woollen Manufactures 'might be vended, and from thence in re-'turn thereof *Gold, Silver, and Copper* might 'be brought to supply at least, in a great mea-'sure, the Trade in other parts of *India*, with-'out carrying so much out of *Europe*: But 'these Trades (he says) are not so easily gain-'ed as some fancy, great hazards of conside-'rable stocks must be run, *&c.*

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Whereas, they say were a greater share of the industry and vigour of the Nation now pent up, and greater stocks now worse imployed, or idle, let into this Trade, we might hope for a great Trade to the Ports now of no use to the Company, for that in fact the *Dutch* Company Trade to all Ports in *India*, *China*, *Japan*,

Japan, *&c.* and drive a mighty Trade to *Persia* with the Commodities of thoſe Countreys, *viz.* Spice of all ſorts, *&c.*

2*dly*. They ſay by this our want of a ſufficient Commerce in *India* there is a very *ſmall Navigation* imployed in this mighty Trade, of what might be, being not above 20, or 30. Ships *to and from India* in a direct courſe, and *in India* ſo inconſiderable that it is not worth the noting: That for this reaſon, and becauſe we there vend ſo little Commodity, our Company does Trade with vaſt quantities of exported *Treaſuri*, inſomuch that upon ſearch of the Cuſtome books of the Port of *London* only, it appeared by the Entrys, that the Gold and Silver exported for *India* by the ſaid Company from the 2d. of *March* 1673, to the 11th. of *March* 1674, amounted to 500. ſixty odd thouſand pounds Sterling; beſides what might be entred in the out-ports, and without entry privately exported, which thoſe that underſtand this Trade will not think a little: the Author of the aforeſaid Pamphlet confeſſes, that from the end of the Year 1674, to the beginning of the Year 1675, was exported to *India* about 400000*l*. more, in which perhaps we have reaſon to be ſuſpitious of his *modeſty*: (It were a Nationall work to ſearch the entrys for this and the other Years ſucceeding) that 'tis the exporting of this Money

that

that endears our Company to the *Indian Princes*, and buys their protection, who otherwise might destroy them if they would, our Company, having not above 2 or 300 people in it, their fort St. *George*, including Factors and Agents of all sorts, and at *Bombey* fewer.

Whereas, that on the other side the *Portuguese* whilst they had the Trade of the *Indys*, though under no Company, supported a *vast Navigation* there to serve the occasions of those mighty Empires and their own; that since the *Dutch* have supplanted the *Portuguese*; they have yet a greater, having there thousands of Ships Trading from Port to Port in the *Indies*, *Persia*, &c. Besides 50, or 60, (if need be) more *Men of War*, and keep great *Armies* in pay: That they have gotten many spacious *Countrys*, *Islands*, and *Populous Citys* of their own, whereof *Batavia* is near as big and rich as *Amsterdam*; besides divers *Tributary Kingdoms*, whom they have forced into a profitable complyance, and were it not for fear of the English power at home, could dayly ruin us at their pleasure: that by the greatness of their Trade in these parts, they gain so considerably, that they can fraight home their great Fleets with the most valuable Commodities in the *Indies*; being the result of their industry in those parts, not of their exported Money.

3*ly*. That

3*ly*. That the *Subſcribers* to our *Eaſt-India* Stock were originally but few, and the Stock but ſmall, that divers of the ſhares being now bought in and conſolidated into particular hands, there are not above 60. or 80. perſons or thereabouts conſiderably concerned in the Joynt-ſtock; that although the Stock be not near ſufficient to manage even the preſent Trade, and therefore could admit of more *Depoſitums* of Money, which would let in a greater number of our people, the Company to prevent the neceſſity of it, do take up 4 or 500000*l*. at Intereſt at 5 *per Cent*. which by their dear Sales at home yields them 20 or 30 *per Cent*. or more; that as the Trade redounds to the benefit of few at home, ſo to as few in *India*, the Companies, Factories and imployments being few, and moſt lye divided amongſt men of mean condition, who will depend ſolely on the Company, being originally *Hoſpitall Boys* or ſuch like, and all others reſtrained to *Traffick*, *Frequent* or *haunt* the *Indies*, or places within their Pattent, by a Clauſe therein, under penaltys of *Impriſonment*, *Seizures* and *Confiſcations*, frequently and ſeverely exempted by the Company, *how legally* I leave to be examined: That upon this accompt, even thoſe few Seamen or others whom they permit to deal for themſelves, can make little profit, being charged with great

Mulcts,

Mulcts, made payable to the Company at their diſcretion for all the Commodities they export or import.

Whereas the original *Stock* of the *Dutch* company was 600000*l* and this in the year 1602. and the *Number* of the Sharers in the *Dutch* Company of all ſorts, and of thoſe conſiderably concerned, are vaſtly more, then in our Engliſh Company, proved by their Ordinary Councils or Chambers of Curators of this their Company in each Province; beſides their Superiour Aſſemblies, amounting to great Numbers, all which are but *Deputies* of far greater Numbers; that beſides their *Navigation Trade*, *Judicature*, and *War* in the *Indies*, let in Multitudes of others, into very profitable imployments, ſo that in effect they make up another *potent Government*, for the aid of their Nation in all exigencies.

See *Mandelſloes Travils* 285. State of the Low Countrys. 159. 160. In 1608. the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Stock was made up near 3 Millions Sterling, beſides great dividends. Preſent State of the United Provinces pa. 163 our *Eaſt-India* Stock actually paid 1660 was but 368000*l*. the Trade ſo ill, that in 1665. our effects were ſold at 70. *per Cent.* and farther Subſcriptions refuſed: but the act of 15. *Car.* 2. Licencing the Exporting of *Bullion* and forreign Coyne, and the Company betaking themſelves to this Commodity, hath occaſioned the ſupport of this Trade to the preſent degree.

I have been the more copious on this particular Subject, firſt, becauſe of the apprehenſions or pretences of ſome, that our ſtupendi-

ous

ous advantage in this Trade gives us a kinde of National ſecurity, ſo that no ſooner can others mention any defect in our Trade, but they are preſently told of our Trade to the *Indies*, the wealth of the *Indies*, and our Navigation to and in the *Indies*.

And yet I ſhall admit, though with little reputation to the reſt, that our *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſuch as it is, ſeems the moſt flouriſhing branch of the whole, and therefore that the Gentlemen concerned in this Company have evidenced their conduct in the *preſent way of Trade*.

2*ly*, I ſhall not much conteſt but that the Indian Commodities conſumed at home, and re-exported, may (as the reſt of our Trade is now managed) *prevent* the exportation of near as much money to our Neighbouring Nations, *viz.* by the uſe of Callicoes inſtead of other Linnens, by a Barter of theſe and the reſt of our *Indian* Commodities in *France* and other parts *for other Conſumptive goods* ; in which there is an advantage, becauſe the leſs money we part with to our Neighbours, they will be in the leſs capacity to hurt us, but this does not prove the *Indian* goods re-exported bring in the Treaſure exported to *India*, ſince the whole, or a great ſhare of it may be, and is by the circulation of forreign contracts *finally reſolved* into other conſumptive

tive Importations, of ſo dangerous a conſequence it is to export money.

But ſuppoſe the *Indian* goods, re-exported bring us in more Treaſure, yet is it evident from ſuch Facts as I have mentioned before as are admitted by the Company, and ſuch as are indiſputable, that this part of our Trade (which before 1654. was managed by the like Company) was never improved to any great or conſiderable degree, in compariſon of the progreſs made by all other Nations which have undertaken it: whereof there muſt be cauſes and reaſons highly neceſſary to be examined and regulated; I ſhall add, that for thoſe other Facts relating to the preſent debate which ſeem of leſs notority, they are ſuch, as to my knowledge were affirmed by many credible witneſſes, and by them intended to be proved before a Committee of the *Houſe of Commons*, upon the occaſion of a Petition there formerly exhibited by the *Clothyers*, but having attended ſeveral days, were never heard, becauſe the Parliament was engaged in other things, and afterwards Prorogued: but I doubt not they are all ready to atteſt the ſame and more before that Judicature; which I ſay, that it may not be thought that I have highly or officiouſly reported any of the aforeſaid allegations to the ſame Judicature, I ſhall leave it to be determined by what

what expedients to enlarge this Trade, being in a matter of this Importance contented to have opened ſome queſtions and Facts relating to it: I am ſo free from any malice to the Company, or any man ſo much as concerned in it or envying their gains, that for a more eaſy Compoſure of things, I hartily wiſh there may be found ſome more beneficiall Nationall and comprehenſive way of Managing this Trade by a Joynt ſtock, that thereby the preſent Intereſts of the *Gent.* of this Company may be ſecured, nay and improved; if this cannot be done, then ſubmit it to farther conſideration how juſt and reaſonable it is that theſe Gent. ſhould have compenſation for what they ſhall really loſe by the Diſſolution of the Company.

I ſhall conclude this with remarking, Firſt, that the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company Trading on a Joynt-ſtock, and therefore with as much diſadvantage to their re-exporting Merchants as the Engliſh, hath been a means to preſerve us this Limb of Trade from Port to Port in *Callicoes*, *Pepper*, &c. and propably the rather becauſe our Trading in Money hath ſo far deboſh'd the *Indian* Market, that the *Dutch* are not over-ready to deal for theſe Commodities, and therefore principally apply themſelves to their richer *Spice Trade* whereof they have the Monopoly.

This restraint of our Market to our own Merchants and Companies, hath yet brought a farther mischief upon our Manufactures, because our Companies being seated in *London*, our Natives are forced to bring their Mannfactures thither by *Land Carriages*, some of of which are so long that they are as chargeable as a Voyage to *Spain* or *Turky*, Quantity for Quantity; all which is superadded to the originall charge of the Manufacture; our Clothiers have also complained, that when they have brought their Cloaths to *London*, they have been frequently and long *delayed* before they have been able to vend them; which whether it hath proceeded from any correspondence or Intelligence between the Companies, their Committees or Agents, their want of Stocks or universall Trade, or from the dearness of our course of Merchandize, and the consequentiall obstructions in the forreign Market, or from all together, I shall not positively undertake to say: But certain it is that in this case our Clothiers for want of a quick Market lose the Interest of so much of their Stocks as lyes dead, which also is superadded to the first cost of their Manufacture; but yet being made necessitous by delay, and confined to the *London* Market, are forced to sell cheap: and then are the poor Manufacturers most miserable, when on the one hand

hand the charges they are at oblige them to ſell dear, but yet are confined in their juſt demands.

It may be remembred here that the odds in *Intereſt of Money* between *England* and *Holland*, and *England* and *France*, (where none is allowed to be taken under the higheſt penaltys) muſt as much prejudice our Manufactures as our forreign Trade, by the unequall charge it brings on our Manufacturers, which charge is ſtill increaſed as they are longer delayed.

The freedom of the Market being of ſo great importance; it muſt alſo follow, that the like Cloggs and incumbrances put upon the Trades of Ware-houſe keeping and Shop-keeping, muſt have ill effects on the National Trade, becauſe theſe Trades make up the publick Marts and Markets, as hath been ſaid.

From the Contents of this and the laſt Section it may be obſerved, that it is not only neceſſary to eaſe the *courſe of Merchandiſe*, but to remove all other Cloggs and reſtraints on the *home Market*; for though our Merchants ſhould be able to Trade as cheap as forreigners, yet if it ſhould lye in their diſpoſition to impoſe on the reſt of the people, (whether Manufacturers, Shop-keepers or others), the Merchants might gain much more then

now they do, but our Manufacturers and other Natives might be ſtill ſufferers in ſome degree; 'tis too apparent that our Engliſh Clothiers have made ſo ill Markets at *London*, that they have lived poorly and got little or nothing, whilſt the Merchants have lived ſplendidly and laid up money, the like may be ſaid of others.

And here it may be farther obſerved how predominant private intereſt hath been amongſt us, and how finely it hath ſpun the thread; our *Land-holders* have thought to eaſe themſelves by thruſting great part of the publick Charges, upon Trade, the Merchants in Exchange have gotten *Monopolies on the Land-holders*, and people for all goods exported and imported; and of theſe ſome Companies trading on Joint Stocks have got *Monopolies excluſive to the reſt*; but at the ſame time we have given all forreign Nations *Monoplies on the Engliſh*, in all which we have been eagerly ſeeking to get advantages on one another, but have laid our ſelves open to Forreigners; who (whilſt we ſcrable for the preſent wealth in the Nation) take it out of our fingers at their pleaſure.

To which may be added as a farther obſtruction to the growth of our Manufactures, that our people have gotten a vain and imoderate *affectation and uſe of forreign Manufactures*,

factures and Comodities; which muſt neceſſarily ſink the Market at home for our own of the ſame kind; for the ſame quantity of home Commodity wanting of its former rent, muſt ſtagnate and lye on the owners hands, who either will not be able to ſell it at any rate, or muſt ſell it much the cheaper.

This *deadneſs and cheapneſs* of any Manufacture, on this or any other occaſion, will have a very ill Conſequence; for it muſt preſently ſink the Manufacturers *wages* and diſcourage the Maſter of the Work; and then in caſe the Market doth not mend in ſome reaſonable time, they will withdraw both their labour and Stock.

Nay this, or little better, muſt be the ordinary fate of all our Manufactures, by the meer want of a Forreign vent; for as any of our Manufactureswhich ſupply our National uſe, draws in more and more of our people till the Manufactures becomes too bulkey to receive a full vent at home, it muſt then equally ſtagnate on the handsof all that are concerned in it; at leaſt render them neceſſitous, and endanger the Manufacture: the increaſe of imported raw-ſilk from *Turky* in barter for our Cloath, occaſioned the increaſe of our Silk Manufacture; what is now like to become of it may be ſeen.

Before I go to the next Section, I ſhall yet

obſerve theſe farther inconveniences from the aforeſaid conſtitutions and courſe of our Forreign Merchandize.

First, That our Manufactures being confined to buy of our own Merchants and Companies, are not only ſubject to buy Forreign materials of Manufacture at ſuch prizes as they can and will pleaſe to afford them, but muſt be contented to buy *worſe materials* then other Nations make uſe of, in caſe our Merchants for their own gain, or by negligence of their Factors, import worſe.

2*dly*, That Forreign materials of Manufacture being thus ſtraitly Imported into *England*, gives our Traders frequent opportunity to *ingroſſe Imported Commodities*, (both materialls of Munufacture and others,) and thereby to impoſe 3 times the currant prize in other Nations upon our Mauufacturers or other buyers, which muſt not only diſable our Manufactures, but hinder re exportation; this ingroſſing Trade is the daily deſign of a ſort of *Cunning men* amongſt us; which with *ſtealing Cuſtomes*, and importing and vending *Prohibited goods*, are the ordinary methods of getting *an Eſtate on a ſuddain*.

3*dly*, The ſeeming eaſe we have by a *reſtitution of half Cuſtomes upon re-exportation*, is ſo far from being really ſuch, that it not only leaves the great diſproportion and charge

mentioned

mentioned in the laſt Section, but in Caſes where our imported materials of Manufacture are re-exported, being a further unequall charge on our Engliſh Manufacturers; becauſe that when re-exported and ſold, the Forreign buyers are eaſed of about half the duties paid, eſpecially if ſold ſo near as *Holland* or *France*; of what conſequence then muſt this be in the Silk-Manufacture? (Suppoſing *Holland* or *France* could not be otherwiſe provided of Raw Silk) and ſo in others, but more particularly in our Imported *Dying Stuffs, and Raw Sugars from the Weſt Indyes*, which are materialls peculiar to the Engliſh; but by this diſadvantage in re-exportation are now moſtly Manufactured by Forreigners; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, upon Conſideration of our preſent Plantation-Trade, in the mean time, upon what hath been already ſaid, and what I ſhall adde in the next Section, let any man Judge how cauſeleſſely our poor people are taxed with dear Selling their Manufactures, with Sloath and other inconſiderable Reproaches by ſuch as *live at eaſe*.

SECT. VII.

Forreigners eased in Trade; Other clogs of difficulties upon ours; Want of populacy, incidently of extream prizes of victuals, and how the duration of Land-Rents may be secured, our people restrained from Manufactures; the Abuse of the Act *of* 43. *Eliz.* 2. Act *of* 5. *Eliz.* cap. 4. *Meer Prohibitions of no value. Freedomes and pre-emtions of Corporations, with the Consequences: Free-Schools and Scholar-like Imployments: Forreign Protestants hindered from transporting hither; want of Toleration of Protestants Dissenters; the objections briefly considered: Elections in Corporations. Monopolyes of New Manufactures: delay and charge in some Law-Suits. Tyths of Hemp, Flax, and Fish, more of Customes, and incidently of Taxes.*

FRom the foregoing Sections, it appears how dangerous it is to clog Trade. It is like putting a pound weight at the end of a pole, which is heavier then 20. times so much placed at the hand, for so a small impost or difficulty on Trade shall work down all *Land revenues* more then the sums actually paid; Nay Land-Rents will rise under greater Taxes, where home and Forreign Trade is left

left open and free, as experience hath ſhown in *Holland* and elſewhere.

2dly. That the charges and Clogs on Trade are to be eſtimated tolerable or inconvenient *by Compariſon*, as they are more or leſs then the charges on Trade in other Nations, and therefore, That it is of high importance to watch the pollicies of other Nations in Trade; if other Nations Trade with as much diſadvantage to their Natives as the Engliſh, they never out-ſtrip us; But if they eaſe and facilitate their Trade at home and abroad, So muſt we, elſe they will beat us out.

What then are we to expect whileſt our neighbouring Forreigners continue to have the aforeſaid advantages upon us in courſe of Forreign Merchandize, when alſo the home-vent of their Manufactures is not confined to the Merchants of one Nation, nor Compnyes of one Town, when their Manſtfacturers are not obliged to the charge of long Land-carriages, nor oppreſt with delays, but can ſell when and where they pleaſe, and to all Merchants Aliens, aſwell as to their own, and therefore have an unlimitted and moſt profitable market.

The *odds in Populacy* muſt alſo produce the like odds in Manufacture; plenty of people muſt alſo cauſe *cheapneſſe of wages*; which will cauſe the cheapneſſe of the Manufacture; in

a scarcity of people wages must be dearer, which must cause the dearnesse of the Manufacture; But this populacy I speak of, must not be understood of those people which the *Extent of Territory* makes necessary for the meer tilling of the ground, keeping of Cattle *&c.* for in this sence there is no doubt, but the grand Seigniors or Spanish Dominions are more populous then *Holland*; The populacy I intend and which only can be serviceable to Manufacture, are those exuberant numbers which cannot find Imployment in husdandry, nor otherwise but in Trade; in which sence *France* and the *United Provinces* are most Populous; their Trade and people have grown up together, having nourished one another; the like may be said of some parts of *Germany* and *Italy*.

See Sir *William Temples* Book of the *United provinces* Ch. 6.

But on the other side *England* never was so populous as it might have been, and undenyably must now be far lesse populous then ever, having so lately peopled our vast *American Plantations* and *Ireland*; the decay of our Manufactures hath much depopulated our Inland Corporations of the Villages Adjacent; the decay of our Fishing Trade our Sea-Towns; I know

The peopling of *Ireland* here intended he was to supply the losse by the Irish Massacre being computed at about 250000. persons besides what the growing plentys of *Ireland* have invited over dayly.

know this want of people is hardly credible with many who ſee no farther then their own eaſe and gain; they will tell us, we have ſo many people already that we know not what to do with them; which is true, and ſo they have in *Spain*, where their Villages are in a manner forſaken, and many of their great Cities and Towns lie half empty; moſt of their ordinary people having no employment at home, are gone to *America*, thoſe that remain chiefly conſiſting in Gentlemen, Lawyers, Officers and Shopkeepers, with their neceſſary men of husbandry and ſervants: I muſt not omit Prieſts and beggars, ſince to the honour and comfort of *Spain* they make about a fourth or fifth part of the whole; there is little or no ſupport for other ranks of men: how near this we are in *England* let any man judge, or how ſoon we ſhall come to it through the decay of our Manufactures; What an uproar have we already in an Engliſh Pariſh if a poor young couple happen to marry, or a man with Children chance to get into a houſe? how they are toſſed from Juſtice to Juſtice, and from pillar to poſt, by vertue of the ſeveral Acts for ſettlement of poor? And what joy there is when theſe clogs are removed? which acts and proſecutions regularly and daily force many

Stat. 39. *Eliz.* 4th 7. *Jacob.* 4. 14 *Car.* 2. 12.

many out of the Nation, and in effect *baniſh them by Act of Parliament*; 'Tis like, that beſides the Inquiſition, the proud *Spaniards* had ſome ſuch expedients as theſe to be rid of this kinde of lumber; they would be now glad of thoſe laborious drudges to encounter the populous *French.*

Being upon this Subject I cannot omit to obſerve the bad conſequences of ſome others of our late Laws, made to raiſe *the prizes of Victualls*, which doubtleſs were projected for the raiſing *Land Rents*, viz. the *Acts for Tranſportation of Corn*, and the Acts againſt *the Importing* Iriſh *and* Scotch *Cattle*, which had they the full effects intended, muſt much aſſiſt both in depopulating the Nation, and Subverting our remaining Manufactures; For if the Manufacturers buy his Victualls at exceſſive rates, at what rates muſt he ſell his Manufacture, or how ſhall he live? eſpecially in a time when his Manufactures fall upon his hands daily? but this will mainly diſſatisfy ſome, who will have no Manufacture or Trade, if the price of the Victualls muſt not be exceſſive, for then ſay they, how can the vallue of Lands be raiſed? to which I anſwer, Firſt, that the products of Lands do not wholly conſiſt in Victualls, and that much Land is to be applied to many other as profitable, and (perhaps more profitable ways) then

for

for meer Victualls, *eſpecially in a Nation abounding in Trade and People*; for this I ſhall refer to our Copious Books of Husbandry, which then may do us much good, but little or none before.

Secondly, That though Victualls be not at a very exceſſive price, yet if there be a *quick and great market* at a midling price, it will raiſe and hold up the vallue of Lands, as experience hath proved of late years.

But Thirdly, It is impoſſible the vallue of Lands can be much raiſed by the meer raiſing of the price of Victualls, eſpecially in a Nation but thin of people; nor would ſuch a Revenue endure or be tollerable; perhaps the Spaniſh Dons did once raiſe the prizes of Victualls, or ſuppoſe they ſhould do it now, what weighty effect would it have, unleſs to drive all the reſt of the Spaniards into *America?* But that which will moſt *certainly and durably* raiſe the Revenue of Land muſt be the *encreaſe of Treaſure and Trading people*; ſuppoſe the people of *England* were trebled, 'tis plain that the Land muſt yield treble the produce in meer Victualls, elſe the people muſt ſtarve; but theſe people will not ſtarve, eſpecially *trading people*, nor will they live needily, or ſcarcely if they can help it, and will therefore ſet themſelves and others to the improving of all corners of Land in the Nation, till

till our Lands produce more then treble the Victualls they now do, a thing very practicable, and then ſuppoſing Victualls as cheap and cheaper then now, Land will ordinarily be treble it's preſent vallue, eſpecially if we conſider how much may be then applyed to raiſe Hemp, Flax, and other neceſſary and profitable things, with the increaſe of Wool, Hides, Tallow, *&c.* And as the people increaſe, ſo will the vallue of the Land; there is no doubt but *England* upon the utmoſt improvement might maintain *6* times its preſent number of people, nay 10 times with an indifferent uſe of that mighty plenty of Fiſh our own Sea affords us; there is as little doubt but upon a great increaſe of people and mony, Victualls will be rather too dear, and that Laws may be then requiſite to reſtrain the price.

By the Maps of *England* it is found to contain 29568000. Acres beſides that which is allowed for High-ways, all the United Provinces are hardly ſo big as *Yorkſhire.*

Such was the ancient populacy of *England*, that we had formerly Statutes made in reſtraint of the exportation of Corn, our Fleſh alſo found vent, though our people kept Lents, Ember-weeks, and Faſting days; wherein they fed on Fiſh and white meats, and yet we read of Famines in thoſe days; whereas now we finde it neceſſary to export all the Corn we can, we eat very little Fiſh, and

and have made Acts againſt the importation of Forreign Cattle (which by the way gave a *Monopoly* to a few Engliſh and Welch breeding Counties on all the reſt of the Nation,) and yet we thought our markets over-clogged.

But *England* is not only prejudiced by the paucity of people, but we have another rank of Statutes which hinder very many of thoſe we have from applying themſelves to Manufacture: one is the Stat. of 43*th. Eliz. cap.* 2. which according to the intention of it ſeems neceſſary now when we have ſuch a vaſt increaſe of poor; but ſuch is the Arbitrary latitude given by the Act to Over-ſeers and Juſtices, that many of our Laborious people well able to work, by clamour or favour get Pariſh maintenances, chooſing rather to live lazily by this means, aſſiſted with ſome pilfering.

Then we have the Stat. of 5*th. Eliz. cap.* 4. which (though it gratifies the blinde avarice of ſome of our Corporation men) is more prejudicial, by reſtraining our people to work in Manufacture, unleſs they have ſerved an *Apprentiſhip full ſeaven years*, which is ſo long a term of drudgery and ſlavery before they can reap any fruit of their labors, that Parents are deterred from putting their Children Apprentices to Manufacture; nor will many of our

our Youths or young men be brought to it eſpecially the moſt apt and docile, and thoſe of ripeneſs of years, of which many would be more perfect in 3 or 4 years then others in 10, and therefore they betake themſelves to other more eaſy and ready Imployments, or elſe live idle.

The ſame Act does very ſtrangely provide that no man ſhall take an *Apprentice* for Woollen Manufacture in any Town Corporate, unleſſe ſuch *Apprentice* be his Son, or the Father or Mother of ſuch *Apprentice* have the clear yearly vallue of 40*s*. Inheritance, nor in any Market-Town or Village unleſſe he be his Son, or his Father or Mother have the clear yearly value of 3*l*. Inheritance, which clauſe apparently ſhuts out at leaſt 5 parts of the people in 6, from the Woollen Manufacture; and by conſequence tends to the *depopulation* of our Inland Towns, the increaſe of Rogues, Vagabonds and poor; Theſe difficulties on Trade begot the Act of the 43. *Eliz.* and many others of the like nature, and thereby much work for our Juſtices.

Which by the way may give occaſion to obſerve how vain it is to make Acts againſt Rogues, Vagabonds, or Poor, nay againſt thefts or Murthers, how little the Houſes of Correction, Whipping-poſts, Pillories, or Gallows can prevail, whilſt our other Conſtitutions

tutions drive our People into neceſſities, nor any *prohibitory or penal Law*, ever have the intended effect, unleſs the *Grounds and Cauſes* of the miſchiefs be removed; of which I ſhall ſay more when I come to ſpeak of our late Prohibition of *French* Goods. Amongſt the reſtraints on our *Engliſh* Trade, the incloſure of Trade to *the Freemen of Corporations, and Guilds*, may be deſervedly mentioned as one.

This Priviledge is claimed by moſt, or all of our *ancient Corporations*, and might be well intended at firſt by the Donors, but as now uſed is very prejudicial; for the Power of admitting Free-men being generally lodged in a Councel or Committee of *a few Free-men*, any Forreigner (and ſuch they call all thoſe who are not Sons or Apprentices of ſeven years ſtanding to a Free-man in the ſame Town) muſt *buy* his Freedom before he can exerciſe any open Trade there; for which theſe Free-men are left at liberty to demand as great and arbitrary Price as they pleaſe, or if they will, may wholly refuſe; whence it commonly follows, that Beginners in Manufacture, and other Trades, being Forreigners, and having but ſmall Stocks, can never obtain Freedom, and without it are burthened and plagued with by-Laws, Penalties, Diſtreſſes, and Seizures; nay, if a Man be exquiſite in his Trade, he

ſhall hardly get a Freedom for Money, in a Corporation where there are more free of the ſame Trade; for then he is lookt on as *a dangerous perſon*, and likely to *eat the bread out of their mouths*, (as they phraſe it) in which they will gratifie, and influence one another, being the common cauſe, and can eaſily do it: The fewer Free-men there are in a Trade, they think the reſt may get the more; and thus are moſt of our ancient Corporations and Guilds become *oppreſſive Oligarchies*, excluding or diſcouraging the *Engliſh* Subjects from Trading in our greateſt and beſt ſituated Towns, where the *Markets* are; and which are therefore the moſt proper and ready *Seats* for Manufacture, and other Commerce: For this, and the Act of the 5*th* of *Eliz.* our Corporation-men have only this to ſay, That care ought to be taken, that none but perſons *skilful* ſhould exerciſe any Trade, which is true; but the Law of neceſſity, common ſence, and experience, provides ſufficiently for this, ſince an unskilful Artificer or Trader will not find imployment, and therefore muſt receive due puniſhment by his own *Ignorance*: 'Tis confeſſed, Manufactures may be made *deceitfully*, which may diſgrace and prejudice our vent abroad; but this fraud is an Act of Skill, which cannot be diſcovered or prevented, without the daily ſcrutinies of Judicious Perſons; for

which

which our other former Statutes have already made *ſome proviſion*, but *defective*; it were to be wiſhed, there was a conſtant Judicature of Men knowing in Trade in every County to ſuperviſe the ſufficiency of Manufactures: In the mean time this Argument for the ſupport of the Act of the 5*th* of *Eliz.* and Freedoms muſt appear very fallacious, ſince both the Act and the Freedoms ſerve only to exclude the *Engliſh* Subjects, and of thoſe many of the moſt skilful, from Trade, and by incloſing Manufactures to a few, hinder their growth, and make them far dearer.

A farther inconvenience of theſe Freedoms is, That *the pre-emption of our Manufactures, and Imported Goods*, in moſt of our inferiour Corporations and Cities, as well as in *London*, is in a manner incloſed to the *Number* and *Stocks* of the Free-men, and is very much ſubject to their pleaſures, by reaſon of their union and correſpondence in Counſels: So that he who would eſcape the long Land-Carriages to *London*, and *London* Companies, muſt fall into the hands of theſe other Free-men; theſe Free-men have generally ſo brave a time of it, that they can live in eaſe and plenty, (every Shop reſembling an Office) whilſt the laborious part of our Traders are ready to periſh; which Priviledges could not have ſurvived the Statute of 21 *Jac.* againſt

Monopolies, but that they are *ſaved by a ſpecial Proviſo in that Statute; ſo civil were the Burgeſſes of Corporations at that time.*

Our Trade being thus clogged, and the very Avenues to Manufactures ſo much narrowed and choaked up, it doth not a little help to the ſubverting of our Manufactures, and other Trade, that the Paſſages to other Preferments are made ſo open and eaſie, at preſent I mean all thoſe that depend *upon Literature*, in which our Youth are led from ſtep to ſtep by all manner of Incouragements; Firſt, by the multitude of our late endowed *Free-Schools*, where every ordinary Man's Son is taught *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, for a ſmall matter; and then is above Manufacture: Then we have two mighty endowed Univerſities, where there will, at leaſt, be hope of preferment, let the throng be never ſo thick; and thence they have farther and more comfortable proſpects; and in the mean time live eaſie, at little or no charge, as Servitors, or on ſmall Stipends, till they become Scholars of Houſes, *&c.* others of theſe Free-School-Boys grow Pen-men of all ſorts; and all theſe are a ſort of *Gentlemen-like* ways of living, which intitle them to be called *Maſters*, which gives a main temptation both to Parents and Children; who on the other hand, ſee the *contemptible* and *miſerable* condition of

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our poor Clothworkers, and other ordinary Artificers, who at the beſt are called *Mechanick Fellows*; and what is yet farther miſchievous is, that our Youth thus educated, never reading any thing of Manufacture, Exportation, or Importation, in *Homer* and *Virgil*, or their Colledge Notes, and being from thence carried to other Studies, which have no cognation with Trade, can ordinarily have no ſenſation of the advantages of it; like a Bowl which hath a rub at hand, the farther they go, the more they are divided from it; whence it hath unfortunately enſued, that our *Men of Learning* are either generally ſilent in this matter, or elſe, being inclin'd to think it the ſole concern of the *dirty* and *ſervile* part of the People, ſpeak of it with contempt, and ſome with reflection; by whom moſt others being influenced, we are ſtill pretending to be more accurate in Logick and Philoſophy, (which howſoever otherwiſe uſeful, do not add two-pence a year to the Riches of the Nation) we continue to ſqueeze all the ſapleſs Papers and Fragments of *Antiquity*; we grow mighty well acquainted with the old *Heathen-gods*, *Towns*, and *People*; we prize our ſelves in fruitleſs Curioſities; we turn our Lice and Fleas into Bulls and Pigs by our *Magnifying-glaſſes*; we are ſearching for the World in the Moon with

our *Teleſcopes*; we ſend to weigh the Air on the top of *Teneriffe*; we invent *Pacing Saddles*, and Gimcracks of all ſorts; all which are voted Ingenuities, whilſt the Notions of Trade are turned into Ridicule, or much out of faſhion.

In all which we are very ſhort of the Policies of our Neighbours, the *French*, *Dutch*, and other trading and wiſe Nations; who on the one hand have no Laws or Conſtitutions to reſtrain or exclude their People from Manufacture, nor to Ferret them away; and on the other, do conſider *Trade* as an *Honorary* and almoſt *Sacred* thing, and do highly eſteem and cheriſh their Manufacturers, as well as their other neceſſary Traders.

Now ſhould theſe reſtraints and diſcouragements ono ur own People and Trade be removed, it would doubtleſs much advantage our Trade in ſome time; but would not bring us ſo ſudden an increaſe of People, Manufacturers, Ships, and Riches, as is highly requiſite for the carrying on of a mighty Trade, or perhaps for our National ſecurity; nor can theſe ſo ſuddenly be had, but from other parts of the World, where they are moving; Men, Ships, or Riches, do not grow on the Trees, nor yet drop out of the Clouds.

But

But we have ſuch another rank of Laws againſt *Forreigners*, that we are not to hope Forreigners will come hither; I mean thoſe which diſable Forreigners from trading in *England*; therefore we muſt firſt have a Law of general *Naturalization* of *Proteſtant*-Forreigners, though to the diſpleaſure of many of our own ſelf-intereſted ignorant Traders, nor will that do, without a Repeal of the Act of the 5*th Eliz. Cap.* 4. and a compleat Regulation of our Trade; for neither Manufacturers orMerchants will remove from their own Countries hither to ſit idle; nor will all this bring us over any great Numbers, without ſome *Toleration* of their *Conſciences*, no not of Forreign *Proteſtants*, who differ much from us in ſeveral Points which *they think* material; all which is demonſtrated in Fact by the ſucceſs of *His Majeſties Proclamation* at the beginning of our laſt *Dutch* War; by which Forreigners, then under the utmoſt terrors, were invited to the Liberties and Plenties of *England*; but we ſee few or none of them came or ſtay'd with us on this incouragement: In this the *Dutch* have a further advantage upon us, ſince they

Beſides the Common Law theſe *Statutes*, 1 *R.* 3. 9. 21 *H.* 8. 16. 22 *H.* 8. 13. 32 *H.* 8. 16. 25 *H.* 8. 9. 14 *H.* 8. 3. 4 *H.* 7. 23. and many others of former date, to which are added 12 *Car.* 2. 16. 14 *Car.* 2. 11. and 15 *Car.* 2. 7.

See Sir *William Temple's* Book of the *Dutch*, *Chap.* the 6*th.*

allow free Ports, free Trade, and all other National Freedoms to Forreigners; whereby their People of all ſorts, their Navigation and Stocks in Trade, have increaſed continually.

So are the moſt conſiderable *French* Ports *Free*, (unleſs for Goods *prohibited*, as in *Holland* ſome are;) no ſooner was *Dunkirke* in the Hands of the *French King*, but he made it a Free Port; ſo hath he invited all Forreign Artificers into *France*, by granting them as great, or greater Freedoms than his own Subjects enjoy.

There are yet others of our Laws, which muſt prejudice our Trade of all ſorts, and give a farther advantage to the *Dutch* and *French*, I mean thoſe which inflict Penalties on *Proteſtant Diſſenters*; not only becauſe they may hinder the tranſplanting of Forreign Proteſtant Artificers, or Merchants, but becauſe they diſable many of thoſe we have in *England* already, from carrying on any manner of Trades; and if ſo, then in effect they are not People, ſince they cannot anſwer the ends of People, but are rather the *Trunks and Signs of Men in a Nation*, their Induſtries and ingenuities being lock'd up; Suppoſe two or 300000 of our own People diſabled, it may be preſumed more than a Million *per Annum* loſs to the Nation; what then

then may be our loſs by the ſhutting out a far greater number? perhaps ten times the number of Forreign *Proteſtants*, and thoſe of the richeſt the moſt mercantile, and the beſt Manufacturers of *Europe*.

That this is the Caſe of diſſenting Proteſtants in *England*, muſt be very plain to thoſe who ſhall conſider the Statute of 20 *l.* a month, and thoſe Volumes of other Statutes made before and ſince the King came in againſt *Non-Conformiſts*; moſt of which were intended againſt Papiſts, and occaſioned by former Popiſh Treaſons, but reach all Proteſtant Diſſenters, who, beſides the bare Penalties, are liable to the daily charge and trouble of *Informations*, *Actions*, and *Indictment* in our Courts of *Law*, and as many or more *Libels and Preſentments* in our *Spiritual Courts*; our *Conſtables*, *Church-wardens*, and *Grand-Juries* are upon their Oaths conſtantly bound to accuſe them; if they omit, 'tis at *every other Mans pleaſure* to inform, and ſome or other will not fail of it; thus are Diſſenters brought into the hands of the *Officers* of both Courts, whoſe duty it is to proſecute; theſe may delay for a time, whilſt they are *paid for their favours*, or until *notice* be taken of it, but no longer, and then muſt follow a Seizure of Diſſenters *Perſons* or *Eſtates*, or both: Beſides all which, particular *Juſtices*

of

of the Peace are by ſeveral late Statutes authorized and obliged to *Convent, Convict, and make Levies*; which ſufferings being accompanied with a continual *Anxiety of mind*, our *Proteſtant* Diſſenters cannot poſſibly apply themſelves or their Stocks to Manufacture or other Trade.

See Sir *William Temple, Chap.* of Religion.

Whilſt, on the other hand, both the *Dutch* and *French*, and moſt other of our neighbouring Nations, any thing famous for Trade, allow Liberty of Conſcience to *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, at leaſt to ſuch a degree, *as to enable them to trade:* Which is all that the Intereſt of Trade requires; 'tis true, that now of late we have heard the *French King* hath given ſome greater diſcountenance to Proteſtants than heretofore, (whether to gratifie the *Romiſh* Clergy, who may be otherwiſe very uſeful to his preſent deſigns, and whom he daily and viſibly endears by all ſignal demonſtrations of favour, (if we may believe our Gazets) or for what other reaſon, I ſhall not undertake to ſay) however not ſo, as *to diſable* the *French* Proteſtants from Trade.

What farther hardſhips he may put upon *French* Proteſtants, or other his Trading Subjects, in caſe they ſhall have no other *Aſylum* or *Shelter* to repair to, time may ſhew.

This

This being the Caſe in the matter of Toleration between us and theſe our ſubtile and potent Neighbours, the Queſtion is, what is to be done? A long *Surfeit* of experience hath demonſtrated, that the Penal Laws, though accumulated and imbittered to as great a degree as hath been deſired, are not a ſufficient expedient to reduce Proteſtant Diſſenters. To purpoſe any thing which ſhall ſubvert our preſent Church of *England*, is that which I ſhall not do; conceiving it for the honour and ſafety of the Nation to ſupport a *flouriſhing* National Church, and that the preſent *Proteſtant Church of* England hath in all reſpects the beſt Title to it.

On the other ſide, to reſt under our preſent Diſadvantages by the want of a convenient Toleration of Diſſenting Proteſtants, muſt diſable us from making that ſudden, and full improvement of our Trade, as otherwiſe we might, and as perhaps may be found neceſſary for our ſupport againſt thoſe Forreigners who already do, and daily will more exceed us in *Treaſures and People*, if they ſhall let in, and we continue to ſhut out, ſo mighty a ſhare of each.

Here then there ſeems a difficulty, which deſerves and requires our utmoſt prudentials to clear, by a *Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters*, conſiſtent with the preſervation of our preſent

preſent *Church of England* in all its Rights; I am perſwaded none of the *Generous Dignitaries*, or Members of our Church, would oppoſe ſuch a Toleration; ſome there have been, who could never think themſelves happy, unleſs others were miſerable, and have loved Cruelty for Cruelty's ſake; the moſt infamous for this was *Phalaris*, who was at laſt brought to roar in his own *Brazen Bull*; nor is this a time for Men to gratifie their humors or paſſions this way, if it may prove perilous towards the whole; rather let our Hearts melt with a tender and charitable Commiſeration to theſe our Fellow-Country-men, who by their Birth-right are intitled to *Magna Charta* equally with our ſelves, but are incapacitated to enjoy the advantages of it, meerly for *Conſcience*, when by no other overt Act they have forfeited their Hereditary Claims, when their ſufferings undeniably demonſtrate they are no *Hypocrites*, and therefore that they ſuffer for what they *cannot help*; let us obſerve, that *God* never planted or propagated his Truth by *Temporal Power*, that he was in the *ſmall Voice*, not in the *Thunder*, or the *Whirl-wind*: Let us conſider the *original meekneſs* of Chriſtians, whoſe *Anathema's* againſt Diſſenters were only accompanied with *Admoniſhments*, and meer *Excommunications*, without any *Writ* to take the *Body*, or

or make Levies on Mens *Eſtates*; Let us remember that we have flung off the Yoke of *Papal Tyranny*, *founded* on a pretended infallible concluſive *Church Authority*, ſuperinduced upon Chriſtians by a Conſpiracy of *Romiſh Prieſts*, as ſubſervient to their Ambition, Pride, Eaſe, and Luxury; that if perſecution were *then* wholly unwarrantable, it is *now* far more *incoherent*. When our preſent Church profeſſes it ſelf *fallible*, and both our Church, and all Proteſtant Religion it ſelf, are derived from no other Principle than the Fallibility of all Churches, at leaſt in their Decrees; when our firſt moſt famous Proteſtant Doctors carried on the Reformation in oppoſition to their National Churches and Laws, ſuch were *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many others abroad, and our *Martyrs* at home, whoſe Glorious Sufferings are celebrated by one of our own former and moſt Learned Mr. *Fox*. and Pious Divines, as the chief *Gemms* which truly beautifie our *preſent Church*: Let it never be ſaid, that the *Intereſts* or *Temperaments* of our preſent Church are *inconſiſtent* with our National *Wealth*, *Happineſs*, and *Security*, or *obſtruct our progreſs* towards them; this would give too great an advantage to her publick and private Enemies: Let us induſtriouſly amaſs all the juſt Conſiderations we

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can to facilitate *theſe great ends*, by ſome Toleration of *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, being it is ſo important, I ſay of *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, becauſe theſe having no forreign dependance on the *Pope*, have reaſon to be endeared and knit up to the National Intereſt by the common protection and ſecurity of their Eſtates and Families, equally with the reſt: As for the *Popiſh Party*, I am confident that after ſo many late accurate Treatiſes, and Authentick Narratives, of the dangerous Principles, and horrid treaſonable Practiſes, of the Prieſts, and others of the ſame Party, none will think it neceſſary, or poſſible, that I ſhould add one ſyllable to prove that Party unfit for a Toleration.

Such being the high Motives to make us wiſh for a Toleration of *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, I ſhall, with all deference to Authority, and without any of thoſe paſſionate reflections which uſually incumber this debate, briefly endeavour to examine the dangers objected, which are,

Firſt, an apprehenſion of a neceſſary great *increaſe of Diſſenters*, and this (as *ſome* will have it) to ſuch a degree, as to ſwallow up the preſent Church; a very ſtrange *ſuppoſition* for thoſe who have *Scripture* and *Antiquity* on their ſide: On the contrary, it may be juſtly hoped, that the *Church of* England may then reconcile all thoſe whom *Penalties* cannot

not reduce; and the rather, becauſe when the *Penalties* are gone, all Parties muſt reſort to *reaſoning* and *ſanctity*, which are the proper and only means of making Impreſſions on Mens *Underſtandings* and *Conſciences*; *Penalties* may bring in *Atheiſts* and *Hypocrites*, but can never work a real change in any Mans *opinion*, unleſs when the ſufferings of Diſſenters proſelyte others, (being a kind of Argument of the truth of what is ſo aſſerted, at leaſt amongſt the vulgar or middle ſort;) our preſent Proteſtant *Church of* England muſt therefore have an advantage this way; and yet on the other ſide, will retain that of being vindicated by the Government, in as much as all publick *Divine Service* in the Pariſh Churches will remain in the form now uſed in our *preſent Church*, and all *Church preferments* incloſed to the Clergy of the ſame Church; which Priviledges, being conſiſtent with a Toleration, may continue ſecured to our Church by our preſent Penal Laws in force for that purpoſe, with an addition of ſuch others as may be thought neceſſary; whence it will follow; firſt,

Dr. *Heylin* obſerves, that after the Toleration of Proteſtants in *France*, the other Party in Religion having the *countenance of the State*, and the Preſcription and Poſſeſſion of ſo many years to confirm the ſame, is in as proſperous a condition, both for Power and Patrimony, as any that acknowledgeth the Authority of the Popes of *Rome*. *Geogr.* 176.

first, that it will be more for the *ease* and *convenience*, nay and Interest of the Laicks to conform, rather than to seek farther for Dissenting Conventicles, whose Ministers they must help to maintain; which *Convenience*, with the *Countenance* of *Authority* given to the National Church, is a great matter, since it will bring in all those, who being good Christians in the main, are yet little affected with the Points in difference, which are the *generality*, as may be seen by their equal resort to the Parish Churches before and since His Majesties Restoration. But secondly, it will then be yet more the interest and advantage of all Clergy-men to conform, by the great and *Honourable preferments* they may this way hope for, which they cannot otherwise obtain.

The other grand Objection against a Toleration of *Protestants*, is the danger of the Temporal Government; which seems yet stranger than the other, if we consult our *Reasons*, which must tell us, that Men at *ease* will be better satisfied than when in *pain*; that Men who are kept innocently and profitably *busie*, who by their Industry can live well, support their Families, and gain Estates, will be less apt to study, or do mischief to the Publick, than those, who being disabled from all such Imployments, are daily

daily goaded with penal Laws, a condition which perhaps may be thought more grievous in *England* than the like hardſhips in *Turky* and *Muſcovy*, where all ſuffer alike, when in *England* our Proteſtant Diſſenters hear much of *Magna Charta*, and ſee others enjoy the full fruit of it, but are precluded themſelves, and this for meer differings in Religions belief. But why ſhould I labour to evince that which *Experience* hath demonſtrated; we have the great Inſtance of *France*, and the like in the Kingdom of *Poland*, in *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Hamburg*, and other parts of *Germany*; All which Nations have been at peace, at leaſt about Religion ever ſince the Tolerations given, as ſome of them could never be before, particularly *France*; which muſt appear to proceed from the *pacifique virtue* of Toleration, not from the *coercive* power of *Standing Forces*, or *deſpotick Monarchy*, as ſome would have it, becauſe *that* of *Poland* is *regulated*, and the reſt are *Republicks*. 'Tis notorious that before the *French* Toleration many of that National Church had or pretended to have as fearful Apprehenſions of the effects of it; but we ſee what Councils did prevail even amongſt the *Popiſh Party*, and what hath followed? We find *France* the moſt powerful of Nations, and the *French* King ſo confident of his

Protestants, that he long intrusted his mighty Armies, in the hands of *Monsieur Turenne*, a *Protestant* till near his death: On the other side we have the Example of *Spain*, whose execrable and inexorable Cruelties towards dissenters hath mainly Assisted in the present poverty and weakness of that Nation: We may then conclude that Persecution is a stale piece of policy, which perhaps might have born a debate in *Harry the 8th's time*, but is now tryed to our hands: And let any man judg whether the *French* or *Spanish Church* be now most flourishing, or most likely to continue; the *French Church* and Church-men will certainly get ground with the *French Victories*, for which they are as much beholding to the French *Protestants* as to the rest. Let us not therefore be wholly insensible that the Church of *England* may fall under the worst circumstances of danger, otherwise than from *Protestant* Dissenters; as suppose *England* should ever be reduced to such a condition as to be no longer able to bear up against foreign Powers, what then would become of our *present Church?* what sort of men would then push into our *Bishopricks*, *Deaneries*, and other Church-Preferments? a Fatality which we ought therefore to provide against by a Union of Protestant interests and affections and increase of Traders, as far as safely we may; in which

Foreigners

Foreigners are grown ſo nicely vigilant, that not long ago we might obſerve the policies of the great *French King* and the great *Duke of Tuſcany* curiouſly Angling for the *Jews*; for when the *French King* had made *Marſeilles* a free Port (which was about 12 years ſince) the *Jews* planted at *Legborn*, induced by an offer of protection at *Marſeilles*, and a ſweeter ſituation of that place, reſolved to tranſplant, which the Great *Duke* diſcovering, applyed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it; which he did by making an Edict, That if any Chriſtian bought a Jews houſe, it ſhould be forfeit. In *England* a Jew cannot buy a houſe. I am no Advocate for Diſſenters or Jews, but for the *Common Intereſt* of *England*, by which that of the Church of *England* muſt ſtand or fall. And being now ſpeaking of ſomewhat that concerns Religion, there occur to my memory two plain Texts of Scripture, one is, *that of two evils we are to chooſe the leaſt*, and another that a *Kingdom divided cannot ſtand*. I ſhall deſire the Reader to couple theſe conſiderations with what I ſhall ſay in the following Sections concerning the preſent poſture of this and our Neighbour Nations, and then he will not accuſe me of having made an unneceſſary digreſſion.

Whilſt we are calculating the beſt expedient to bring in *forreign* Proteſtant Artificers,

and *forreign* Manufacture, it is fit that notice should be taken of that Clause in the Act of 21 of King *James chap.* 3. which leaves the Inventers of new Manufactures at liberty to obtain *Patents* for *Monopolies* for one and twenty years, which Statute being in *construction* extended to all Manufactures already used by Forreigners that are not used here, hinders the introducing, or growth and perfection of any new forreign Manufactures, and makes it the business of our more observant Travellers to hauk after Monopolies.

This is no question but several other obstructions to the Trade of *England* might be observed, particularly that the carrying on of *Elections* in Corporations of latter years with so much drinking, is very prejudicial to our Manufactures; for men (upon this or any other occasion) being once *debauched*, hardly ever retrieve themselves, and therefore lost to Manufacture and the Nation.

Our Fishers have complained that in several parts they are forced to pay *Tyth* for the *Fish* they catch on their own Coasts, in which the *Dutch*, and other Fishermen have the advantage to the value of the Fish, and must therefore disable our Trade of Fishery in those parts.

It hath also been noted that the payment of *Tyth* out of our *Hemp* and *Flax*, does as much disable the increase of Hemp and Flax in *England*

land, the reſt being made ſo much the dearer to the owner, that it is not vendible, as otherwiſe it would be; and thereby prevent our great forreign Importation of Hemp and Flax. Theſe being things of ſo great Importance to the Nation, may deſerve a full Examination and remedy, whatſoever the particular intereſts of ſome Incumbents of Churches may ſuggeſt to the contrary.

Laſtly, we have a farther complaint from the Traders of all ſorts, of the tedious and chargeable proceedings in ſome Courts of Juſtice, occaſioned by *Writs of Error*, and *Suits in Chancery*, in which laſt Court many are hung up for ſeven years and more; and are forced to expend much more than the money they juſtly ſue for: *Our little Courts*, eſpecially about *London*, are as deſtructive to poor Seamen, Manufacturers and other laborious people, where in a Suit for a diſputable Groat, or meer malice, they are eaſily lead in, or forced to ſpend three or four pound; if but thirty or forty ſhillings 'tis enough to ruine ſuch poor wretches and their Families, which hath cauſed many thouſands to periſh in Goal, or fly from their Habitations and Countrey, ſince the erection of ſeveral new inferior Juriſdictions.

Here again we may look back and obſerve the miſchievous effects of private and miſtaken

Intereſts, pride and humor; which I ſhall not recapitulate, but ſhould here conclude this Section; but that having mentioned the *greatneſs* of our *Cuſtoms* amongſt the incumbrances on our Trade, I am willing to clear my ſelf from inſinuating or wiſhing any Diminution of His Majeſties Revenue; nor would the moderation of the Cuſtoms work any ſuch effect, (at leaſt in the Judgments of wiſe men who have conſidered it) were the other obſtructions on our Trade regulated; of this Sir *Walter Raleigh* took notice of very early in his Obſervations upon Trade, preſented to *King James*, in theſe words.

'Of this their ſmallneſs of Cuſtom, (meaning in *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, &c.) inwards and 'outwards, we have daily experience; for if 'two *Engliſh* Ships, or two of any other Nation, be at *Burdeaux*, both laden with Wine of '300 Tun apiece, the one bound for *Holland*, 'or any other the Petit States, the other for '*England*; the Merchant ſhall pay above 900 *l.* 'here, and other duties, when the other in '*Holland*, or any other Petit State ſhall be 'cleared for 50 *l. and ſo in all other Wares and* '*Merchandizes accordingly*; which draws all 'Nations to traffick with them; and although 'it ſeems but ſmall duties which they re-'ceive, yet the multitudes of all kind of 'Commodities and Coin that is brought

'there-

'there, and carryed out by themſelves and 'others, is ſo great, that they receive more 'Cuſtoms and Duties to the State by the 'greatneſs of their Commerce in one year, 'than *England* doth in two years; for the 'tooth part of the Commodities are not 'ſpent in *Holland*, but vented into other 'Countries; which make all the Country-'Merchants to buy and ſell, and increaſe 'Ships and Mariners to tranſport them.

'My travels and meaning is not, neither 'hath been, to diminiſh your Majeſties Reve-'nues, but exceedingly to increaſe them, *&c.*

'All Nations may buy and ſell freely in '*France*, and there is free Cuſtome outwards 'twice a year; at which times our Merchants 'do there make their Sales of *Engliſh* Com-'modities, and do buy and lade their Bulk 'with *French* Commodities to ſerve for the 'whole year; and in *Rochel* in *France*, and in '*Brittain*, free Cuſtom all the year long; ex-'cept ſome ſmall Toll, which makes free 'Traffick, and makes them flouriſh.

To this he adds an Inſtance in *Genoua*, formerly the Store-houſe of *Italy*: But after they had ſet a Cuſtom of 16 *per Cent.* all Nations left trading with them; but that on the other ſide, the *Duke of* Florence, by ſetting a *ſmall Cuſtom* at *Leghorn*, had brought all the Trade thither: Thus did this great Man of his time expreſs himſelf.

But admitting, that by the moderation of our Cuſtoms Rates, our preſent publick Revenue in Cuſtoms ſhould be ſomewhat ſunk; yet how eaſily might this Revenue be made good by a Land-Tax, or by ſome *Exciſe* upon Extravagancies, and Forreign conſumptive Commodities ſpent at home, without the leaſt prejudice to Trade? Thus do the *Dutch* raiſe far more than the Revenue of our Cuſtoms; and if by this means the private Revenue of our Land muſt univerſally riſe, and the People better be enabled to pay any other Taxes, why ſhould the Land-holders, or any on pretence of Service to His Majeſty, oppoſe it? Suppoſe His Majeſty had a Cuſtome of 5 *s.* in the Pound on all the *Engliſh* Treaſure exported, would any Man for the ſake of the Cuſtom, and out of zeal to His Majeſties Intereſt, promote the Exportation of all the *Engliſh* Treaſure? How much this is the Caſe of the preſent *Engliſh* Cuſtoms, doth, and more largely will appear.

Certainly it was very unfortunate for *England*, That when Sir *Walter Raleigh* wrote theſe and other his excellent Obſervations on Trade, our Councels were under an earneſt purſuit of the *Plantation-Trade*, on which great Cuſtoms were projected; for ſo it hath hapned, that whilſt our Neighbour Nations have been vigilant to eaſe and facilitate their

ways

ways of Trade, the Trade of *England* hath continued under the former diſadvantage, and is incumbred with new charges and difficulties of later years; all which in Conjunction have worked us out in all the Particulars mentioned before, and in divers others; and in recompence of theſe loſſes, our *Plantation-Trade* hath robbed and prevented us of ſome Millions of our People; amongſt which very many being, or might have been Manufacturers, the Nation hath alſo loſt many more Millions of Pounds in the loſs of their Manufactures.

SECT. VIII.

That a Nation may grow poor by Forreign Trade, viz. *by an exceſs of meer Importations, illuſtrated by ſome Obſervations; this facilitated by exporting Money or Bullion; the fatal Conſequences and Symptoms of a Conſumptive Trade, decay of Manufactures, other ways of living over-ſtocked, fall of Rents, general Poverty, an increaſe of Criminals of all ſorts, Depopulation; ſome Application to the preſent Caſe of* England, *and amongſt others the occaſion of the new Buildings about* London; *of Incontinency, Cunning,* &c.

AS a *Nation* may grow *Rich and Populous*, and conſequently *ſtrong* by Forreign Trade; ſo may a Nation grow *poor* and *diſ-*

peopled

peopled, and consequently *weak* by Forreign Trade; nor is there any possible or practicable way for the Treasure of a Nation in peace, to be exhausted and exported into another Nation to any considerable and sensible degree, but by Forreign Trade.

This must necessarily happen by the excess of *meer Importation*, viz. when the Commodities imported from abroad, and spent at home, do cost more than the National gain by Trade amounts to; as suppose such yearly Importations into *England* should cost two Millions, and the National gain by Exportations or otherwise should amount but to 1500000 *l.* the *Nation* of *England* must yearly lose 500000 *l* of its Treasure by Trade, because so much must yearly be exported by the *English* Merchants to satisfie the over-ballance.

That the *English* Trade might fall into such a Consumption, is easily and highly credible.

For suppose the utmost neat gain of our former *English* Trade amounted to but 300000 *l. per An*ⁿ one year with another; then if the Exportations and beneficial Merchandize of *England* should become worse by 400000 *l. per An*ⁿ one year with another than before, the *Nation* of *England* must lose 100000 *l. per An*ⁿ of its National Treasure, though our yearly Importations be no more in value than before; whence it appears, that by this means

means the *ſame Importations* may become *exceſſive.*

So though our Exportations, and the beneficial part of our Merchandize, continue as valuable as before, yet if our yearly Conſumptive Importations grow to be more in value by 400000 *l. per An.* than before, the Nation muſt alſo in this caſe loſe 100000 *l. per An.* by Trade.

But what if both the beneficial part of the Trade grow worſe, and alſo the Importations increaſe? Certainly this muſt cut deepeſt on the National Stock, and muſt ſooneſt grind it out; for then if the beneficial part grow worſe by 400000 *l.* and the Importing part be increaſed 400000 *l. per An.* value, the Nation muſt then loſe 500000 *l. per Annum*; or ſuppoſe but to half thoſe values in each, the Nation muſt loſe 100000 *l. per Annum.*

To accommodate theſe Hypotheſes to *England*; firſt, we may conclude, that the beneficial part of our Trade hath grown much leſs and worſe yearly, by reaſon of the unequal cloggs and difficulties on our Home and Forreign Trade.

And that on the other ſide our Importations muſt as neceſſarily be increaſed, both by the decay of our own former Manufactures at home, and by our modern gawd'ry and affectation

fectation of foreign Goods; and as our Trade from Port to Port hath become more impracticable to any advantage, the Exporters of our remaining Manufactures and other home-Commodities, muſt either come back empty, or elſe muſt freight themſelves homewards with ſuch conſumptive foreign Commodities, as for Gawdry, Novelty, Cheapneſs, or Lyquoriſhneſs, will dazle, tempt and bewitch our People to buy them; in which courſe of Trade our Merchants may gain conſiderable proportions of our remaining Treaſures as long as there is any in the Nation.

Nay, rather than ſit idle, they will, and do freight themſelves outwards with meer Ballaſt and *Bills of Exchange* (by which the Importation of foreign Bullion or money is prevented:) or if Bills of Exchange cannot reaſonably be had (as they uſually cannot to thoſe Countries where we are overballanced in Trade) then they export Mony and Bullion, and buy and import Conſumptive Goods which are ſpent at home; which kind of Trade deſerves rather to be called *Foreign Pedling*, than Merchandiſe.

See Mr. *Mun* of Foreign Trade, Chap. 12. *p.* 83, to 92. and that the over ballance of Trade in any particular Country, cauſes the Exchange to be high, ſo that the exporting of money ſhall ſave the Merchant 10*l. per Cent.* or more, as the exchange is.

It

It may partly be remembred here, how much the beneficial part of our Trade may be prejudiced by the loſs of 100000 of our Manufactures, and what odds the ſame loſs may produce in our Importations, ſince if they get but *6 l. per Ann.* a peice, it muſt ſink the former gain by Trade no leſs than *600000 l. per Ann.*

And on the other ſide, that if a *Million* of Families or Perſons in a Nation, do one with the other conſume to the value of *20 s. a piece* more, yearly in foreign Manufactures, Drinks, *&c.* than before, this muſt increaſe our Importations to the value of a Million *per Ann.* which I obſerve here to ſhew how imperceptibly an over-ballance of Importation may creep upon a Nation; and that the Reader may with the leſs difficulty conjecture at the late and preſent ballance of Trade in *England.*

It muſt alſo much aſſiſt this Importing Trade, if the Merchants ſhall export Mony, or Bullion; eſpecially in ſuch a Nation as *England*, where a Trade from Port to Port is not ordinarily practicable to any advantage: for in that Caſe the Goods Imported being ſpent at home, the Treaſure Exported muſt be loſt to the Nation; and as long as the Engliſh Merchant can have Bullion or Mony to Export, and can have a vent for his Importations

portations at home, his private gain will never oblige him to complain of the want of Exportable home-Manufactures, or the Clogs upon Trade, especially in *England*, where our Merchants have such a *Monopoly* of their Importations on the rest of the People.

This Consumptive Importing Trade must be of very fatal Consequence in its Nature; for first, whilest the National Stock is greater, it will exhaust the Treasure almost *insensibly*; but as the Treasure grows less and less, it will work more *palpably and grievously*, because it will consume more and more of that little which remains.

And as the National Treasure comes to be more and more diminished, the People must generally have less and less, which must cause the price of all home-Commodities, and consequently *Land-Rents* to fall continually, the home Manufactures must be choaked and stifled by Importations, so that both the Farmers and Manufacturers must fling up; the values of their Stocks must be contracted, and will be eaten out by Rent, Wages and other standing charges before they are aware; men cannot provide againſt misfortunes which have unseen Causes: and as home-trade grows worse and worse, Industry it self must be tired and foiled, to the great amazement, as well as affliction of the People. For

For at the ſame time *Liberty and Property* may remain inviolated, many *Merchants* ſhall grow rich and ſhall be well ſatisfied as long as there is *Vanity* and *Money* at home; ſo ſhall their *Retailers* and *Saleſmen* of foreign Wares, ſuch are Mercers, Lacemen, Linnen-Drapers, Exchange-men, Grocers, Vintners and moſt others; there may ſeem to be the ſame Navigation for a time, the *Cuſtoms* muſt alſo neceſſarily much increaſe as the Importations increaſe (eſpecially in *England* where the Cuſtoms on Importations are ſo high) and by that means may cauſe a reputation and *ſound* of Trade amongſt many, when indeed ſuch a ſwelling of the Cuſtoms does only denounce their growing poverty and ruine.

It may be theſe ranks of men, who ſtand not in the direct Channel of Trade, may ſeem to flouriſh for a time, as *Officers*, *Lawyers*, *Phyſitians*, and others; nay perhaps ſome *Officers* may have greater opportunities of gain during the firſt Convulſions of a growing Poverty; ſince the neceſſities of men obliging them to be more Criminous, it may for a while occaſion greater and more frequent gratuities, and a more abſolute ſubſervience; ſo may many Lawyers get more than ever whilſt mens Eſtates are rending to pieces, (*as doubleſs did ſome Bricklayers get Eſtates by*

the

the burning of the City) So perhaps ſickly men whilſt they can, may ſtrain hard to ſecure the *Faith* and *Care* of their *Phyſitians* with as good Fees as before, ſo ſome *Clergymen Scriveners* and *Pen-men* of all ſorts, Uſurers and ſuch others may ſeem to ſtem the torrent better than the *Landholders* and *Manufacturers*, whoſe Revenues immediately depend on the home-market, and who make up the groſs body and ſtrength of a Nation, many of theſe former rankes of men (being at eaſe themſelves) may ſeem inſenſible of the Common Afflictions, but muſt be gradually involved with the reſt.

And the ſooner, becauſe as men fling up their Farms and Manufactures, and others are diſcouraged, multitudes of thoſe that want Imployments, obſerving what other ſorts of men continue to live at ſome eaſe, will naturally and inevitably throng themſelves into the like, *viz. importing Merchandiſe, Retayling, Shop-keeping, the Law, Clergy, and Prieſthood of all ſorts, Offices, Scrivening, Solliciting, and Phyſick*; by which theſe Imployments muſt be ſo over-clogged, that they will be hardly able to live by one another; vaſt numbers of others muſt betake themſelves to *Inn-keeping, Ale-keeping, Victualing, &c.* and thoſe who have little or no ſtocks or literature, and therefore cannot crowd

crowd themſelves into ſome of theſe ways of Livelihood muſt lye on the Pariſh, or being higher or worſe minded muſt fall to *Cheating*, *Canting*, *Shifting*, *Perjury*, *Forgery*, *Whoredom*, *Sherking*, *Chipping*, *Coyning*, *Buffooning*, *Tumbling*, *Pimping*, *Pilfering*, *Robbery*, *&c.* for their ordinary maintenances; the more honeſt or induſtrious will tranſport themſelves into *foreign parts*, as ſoon as they have opportunity, rather than live miſerable at home, eſpecially if they have an *Ireland and Plantations* to go to; nor is it poſſible (as I conceive) for any Laws or Penalties effectually to reſtrain the ſwelling numbers of any of the former profeſſions, but by opening the beneficial and Comprehenſive Imployments of Manufactures, Farming, *&c.* nor can the daily increaſe of Alehouſes, or of Frauds, Perjuries and Criminals of all ſorts be otherwiſe corrected; *no Statutes*, nay, or *Preaching*, though never ſo *learned* or *florid*, can prevail with neceſſitous men.

But the increaſe of theſe former more Gentleman-like, Scholar-like, Retailing and Shopkeeping-Imployments, muſt yet bring a farther inconvenience, *viz.* a more general *affectation of Finery and Gawdery* than before; for theſe being ſedentary and eaſie profeſſions, will not only admit of, but occaſion

caſion greater curioſity in Apparel, Modes, and dreſſes than the active and laborious ways of living by Farming or Manufactures. And as this Gawdery grows more in uſe it will ſpread amongſt the reſt, and the People emulating one another, will be gawdy as long as they can, though never *ſo poor*; which muſt ſupport and increaſe Foreign Importations, whilſt every one is contending who ſhall have the *fineſt Foreign Livery*, ſo will People thus at leiſure moſt naturally fall into the habits of *drinking* and other ill Courſes.

Too many of theſe ſymptoms of a Conſumptive Trade may be generally obſerved in *England*; of late years any man who had but an indifferent Stock might have ſet himſelf to *Tillage*, *Grazing*, *Daiery*, *Cloathing*, *Fulling*, *&c.* in almoſt any part of *England*, and might not only have maintained his Family plentifully, but as his Sock and Ingenuity were more or leſs, might have left a fair Eſtate behind him; it was not extraordinary for a man thus employed to get an Eſtate of 3, or 4000 *l.* ſome 10, ſome 20, ſome 30000 *l.* whereas now, and of theſe later years theſe home-imployments have been the uſual Shipwracks of mens Stocks and Eſtates in moſt parts of *England*, or ſo dull and cold that men can hardly endure to live ſo meanly.

Our

Our *late Wealthy Yeomanry* are impoveriſhed, or much reduced in their ſtocks, a man ſhall hardly find three in a County able to rent 3, or 400 *l. per Ann.* they are forced to *ſink their Rents* on the Gentry continually, or elſe to fling up their Farms; much Land is fallen a fifth part, ſome a fourth part, ſome a third part, ſome to half of the late Rent, (unleſs in ſome few Countys in whoſe benefit the *Iriſh* Acts were made, and there Rents are not riſen and are now like to fall low enough:) by which continual contracting of Rents the very earth ſeems to ſhrink and conſume under us, and whilſt many of our *late opulent and mighty Gentry* ſince the general decay of their Revenues have been ſtriving to ſupport the antient honour and dignity of their Families, they are become immerged and fettered in inextricable debts and ſecurities; great numbers of our *Clothiers* and other Manufacturers are undone, or have given up; the reſt remain under a languiſhing hope of better Markets: and multitudes of thoſe people, whoſe Labours brought Mony, Trade and Comfort to our Corporations, are now become chargeable burthens: it being computed that our *Poor* are increaſed to near ten times their late number within this laſt twenty years, and that their maintenance doth

coſt the Nation 400000 *l. per Ann.* conſtant Tax.

On the other ſide, the increaſe of thoſe ſorts of men, whoſe Imployments either may prejudice, or elſe can add no increaſe of Treaſure to the Nation, is very viſible; by which increaſe the inconveniencies muſt be ſtill the greater: for where the foreign Trade of a Nation is ſo much driven in importations, the increaſe of *Merchants* will oblige an increaſe of Importation; ſo an increaſe of *Retailers* dealing in foreign Goods, will open a greater vent for Importations; ſuppoſe ſuch a Retailer ſells for 10 *l. per Cent.* profit, the *Nation* muſt loſe about nine pence for every peny he gets, what then ſhall the Nation loſe by the Trade of a Merchant or Retailer, who by *vending Foreign Wares* ſhall get an Eſtate of 10, or 2000 *l.* over and beſides a profuſe maintenance? Or what will it ſignifie to the Wealth or Glory of a Nation, or City, to have many ſuch 10000 *l. men* as theſe? Have we any reaſon to rejoyce in ſuch a flouriſhing Trade? Theſe Retailers and Shop-keepers, gleaning the Mony from the People, hand it up to the *Importers*, who export this *Commodity in Trade* as occaſion does require; and as our Manufactures have decayed, ſo have *Shop-keepers* of all ſorts increaſed; our Cities and Corporations are ſtuf-

ſtuffed with them more and more; there being at leaſt ten times more in the Nation than were 20, or 30 years ſince.

Thus alſo have we multitudes of more *Lawyers, Attorneys, Solicitors, Scriviners, and Pen-men of all ſorts*, than of late years we had; which occaſions more Querks, Tricks, and Cheats in the Law. We have vaſtly more *Scholars and Clergymen*, which a Late Author obſerving, thought it neceſſary to export *Tunns of Divines* inſtead of Manufacture: This does cauſe an univerſal competition for Benefices; of which the needy Laity taking advantage, make Simonaical preſentations, and thence muſt follow perjury in Inſtitutions, and thence ſeared Conſciences; but of all other Imployments we have the greateſt queſting after *Offices*; Men will almoſt give any thing, ſay any thing, or do any thing for an Office; ſo that ſome *Offices* which were thought hardly worth the medling with of late years, will now yeild near ten years purchaſe for one life, which competition hath alſo in a manner virtually repealed the Statute againſt buying and ſelling of Offices, and obliges thoſe who buy truſts to ſell truſts. We have alſo far more Phyſitians, men of Medicine and

Author of the grounds and reaſons of the contempt of the Engliſh Clergy. *pag.* 141.

Quacks, eſpecially *Pox-Doctors* than ever, ſo have we (with our poverty) far more *Finery and Gawdery*, more *Daintyneſs*, *Delicacy* and *Luxury*.

So have we a vaſt increaſe of *Inn-keepers and Ale-keepers* both in City and Country, by which the common-people are debauched, made impious, poor and effeminate: all which miſchiefs do in union cauſe the vaſt increaſe of *new Buildings* in and about *London*; for moſt of the Offices are in *London*, or there to be gotten, there is alſo the ready acceſs to Church-preferment, and the beſt and moſt eaſie Imployments for Lawyers, Solicitors, Scriviners, Phyſitians, and ſuch others, and the rather, becauſe the publick Taxes and Importing-trade drawing the mony up to *London*, it will there be ſtirring as long as we have any in the Nation; whilſt the Country is left poorer and barer every day; and therefore beſides theſe higher ranks of men, the ordinary People who uſed heretofore to begin upon Farming or Manufacture, hearing of *mony* in *London*, do poſt from the ſtarving Country, and apply themſelves to the ſelling of Ale, Brandy, Tobacco, Coffee, Brokery of all ſorts, letting of Lodgings in or about *London*, and ſuch like Imployments, which too commonly end in Bawdery and the Gallows, by which there

is

is room made for new Comers and Tenants; I have heard it ſaid, that *Madrid* is grown much bigger and more Populous of late years.

From theſe and other ſorts of People, both in City and Country, we have more and more *Criminals* of all the ſorts and ſpecies mentioned before; our Goals are fuller and fuller, great numbers of which are yearly executed or tranſported; vaſt numbers of others have betaken themſelves to voluntary exile from this their Native Country, in hopes of a better condition, rather than to endure certain poverty or perſecution for Conſcience at home; beſides thoſe gone into *Ireland*, and the *Plantations*, there are many thouſands of Proteſtants gone from us into the *Low Countries*, into *France*, into *Germany*, and into *Poland*, where being Woollen Manufacturers, they have taught, and ſet up this Manufacture, and thereby helped to work our ruine. Theſe being of the moſt ſtrong and able part of our People, leave their Wives and Children, and other impotent and lazy People at home.

And thus ſhall a Nation be inevitably *diſpeopled*, as well as impoveriſhed by a conſumptive Trade; Nay, it ſhall hinder the ordinary increaſe of People by procreation, eſpecially in a Nation where *venereal ſins* are

become general, habitual and ſhameleſs; for the People being poor, or vicious, or both, dare not, or care not to engage in the charge or virtuous Obligations of *Marriage*, (unleſs here and there where a man gets a Catch with a Wife which ſhall be equal to an Office,) but will rather uſe unlawful *promiſcuous Copulation*, which breeds no Children, but infinite *Claps and Poxes* to the common weakning of Poſterity, and preſent ſcandal of a Nation: (thus have our Women alſo loſt their choice of Chapmen for Husbands:) how many of our moſt beautiful Women (which might have made good and vertuous Wives, and brought forth numbers of as beautiful Children,) are for want of convenient Matches tempted, or forced for a little mony, to ſell their ſouls to the Devil, and their delicate bodies to luſt and rottenneſs, nay to the Gallows, when proving with Child, the remains of their natural modeſty, will not in their extremities permit them to call Witneſſes of their ſhame whilſt the *Gallants* which beget them go free, and glory in their great performance.

All which miſchiefs of a conſumptive Trade are yet more fatal, becauſe the growing vice and poverty which attends it, will generally bring a languor and difficulty on mens underſtandings; as men ſink in their

Eſtates,

Eſtates, their Spirits and Thoughts will be lower and narrower, and their Minds clouded with anxieties and cares, this (with the common diſability of making advantages upon Forreigners in the courſe of Trade) leads them into a kind of unhappy *Cunning*, conſiſting in the over-reaching of one another at home; and he will be accounted wiſe, who by any means can ſhift himſelf out of the common wants, nor will he think his own happineſs ſmall, (*eſpecially if his beginnings were low*) when (like one ſtanding on the Sands) he can behold the Shipwrack of others.

SECT. IX.

That a Conſumptive Trade muſt render a Nation ſtill weaker and weaker: How far the meer eſtabliſhment of Abſolute Power, or meer Liberty and Property, may alter the Caſe.

FRom what hath been ſaid in the firſt Section and ſince, it muſt alſo follow, that a *Conſumptive Trade* muſt render a *Nation* ſtill weaker and weaker.

Firſt, becauſe it muſt ſtill exhauſt more and more of the National Riches, and ſink the value of Mens Eſtates.

If the value of private Stocks or Revenues are contracted, Men will be leſs and leſs able to pay publick *Taxes*; it is impoſſible for theſe that

that have no Money to pay Money, or for those that have less to pay as much as those that have more; and less Taxes must then also be more grievous than greater were before; if a Man having 100 *l. per An'* or 100 *l.* Stock, sink 40 *l. per Cent.* of his Revenue or Stock, it is equal to any direct Tax of 40 *l. per Cent.* and then if a Tax or publick Charge of 5 or 10 *l.* be super-added, it is equal to a former Tax of 45 or 50 *l. per Cent.*

It must also disable a Nation to continue the *Charge of a War*, because the quantity of Money diffused amongst the People will sooner be drawn out of the Home-Markets; and then they can no longer raise Taxes, and when the Taxes fail, what hope or dependance can there be in the courage of Officers, Soldiers, or Sea-men? or how shall the continual Supplies of Warlike Provisions of all sorts be purchased at home or abroad?

There are yet other Concomitants of a growing Poverty, which must render any Nation much the weaker, *viz. discontents*, *uneasiness*, and *heart-burnings*, which when begun, are easily fermented into *Convulsions*, by which a Nation may be disabled to exert even its remaining strength.

2. *Perfidy* and *Treachery* amongst all sorts; needy Men are readily tempted to make a Merchandize of their own Souls and other Mens

Mens Lives and Eſtates, and thoſe who will betray one another for Money at home, will be equally wrought upon by forreign Money, and then may be brought to barter of both Princes and Countries; for being once corrupted, they muſt, *like Women*, for ever remain ſlaviſhly true to the Intrigue, leſt the *Gallant* ſhould tell, of which Hiſtories give us many ſad Examples.

But in a Nation where the value of Land, or Home-Commodities, are riſen 40 *per Cent.* he that had 100 *l.* Revenue or Stock, paying 40 *l.* Tax, retains what he had; and if the National Treaſure be much greater, it will ſupport the charge of a War much longer, and can hardly ever be totally exhauſted, where there is a conſiderable Annual Increaſe of Treaſure by Forreign Trade: This exuberance of a National Treaſure will alſo generally ſupport and ſecure the Spirit and Fidelity of all ſorts of Men.

It muſt therefore be of moſt dangerous conſequence to a Nation impoveriſhed by Trade, if any other neighbour-Nation hath at the ſame time grown much richer in Treaſure, ſince in the caſe of a War it will produce the like inequality of Power; nay if any ſuch richer Nation ſhall think fit to keep great Armies and Navies in pay, (though in times of Peace) ſo muſt the poorer Nation,

or

or elſe be devoured at pleaſure; and thus may a Nation, drained by the over-ballance of Trade, be beggered, and conſequently overcome without fighting, as hath been intimated before.

So if a Nation grow generally more vitious, ſoft, effeminate, debauched, diſpeopled, and undiſciplined than before, it muſt be much weaker than before, wherein the danger muſt be much greater if any neighbour Nation grow far more warlike, more populous and better diſciplined than before.

In which caſe the better ſituated, more uſeful, ſtrong, plentiful, and bleſſed the Country ſo impoveriſhed naturally is, and the more it doth abound in beautiful Buildings, Women, or other delicacies, it will the more forcibly provoke the Appetite of a ſtronger Nation to its Conqueſt, the mighty *Hunters* of the World are for the moſt deſirable prey; ſo if a Nation thus weakned hath formerly been famous and redoubled for Arms and War; thoſe who affect glory by Conqueſt, muſt have the greater Ambition to vaſſalize its People.

From what hath been ſaid it muſt appear; firſt, That a Nation muſt be eſtimated *weak or ſtrong by compariſon*, with the ſtrength or weakneſs of Neighbour Nations; if a Neighbour Nation grow ten times as ſtrong as before,

fore, the Nation which only retains its uſual and former ſtrength is *weak*; but the Caſe muſt be yet worſe, if whilſt the one hath grown *ten times ſtronger, the other hath grown much weaker.*

2. That in the preſent ſtate of the World a Nation cannot grow poor by a conſumptive Trade with any Security.

In ſuch a Caſe the *meer abſoluteneſs of a Monarchy* would not prevent the approaching fatality, (which I add becauſe *Hobbs* and others call it a ſtrong Government) abſolute Power may ſuddenly force away that Treaſure which the People have, but cannot *create* any, nor can it carry on a War, or even *ſupport it ſelf* without continual *vaſt expences*; and then when the Treaſure is drawn off into the hands of Officers and Soldiers, (who pay no Taxes) it will be found, that the People (who have it not) can no more make Brick without Straw in this Age, than heretofore; and will be naturally deſirous to change their Maſters upon hope to be treated with leſs rigor.

Nor on the other ſide will the meer preſervation of a *legal Liberty and Property* ſecure a Nation thus impoveriſhed, without a concurrent improvement of Trade, for the Reaſons before given; the Bleſſings which uſually attend theſe Freedoms wholly, or very

very much depend upon the Riches the People are poſſeſſed of.

It muſt be confeſſed theſe Freedoms make a neceſſary ſtep towards the improvement of Trade; where an abſolute Power is exerted, the conditions of Men are little better than that of Brutes, being continually lyable to Impriſonments, Death, and Confiſcations, at the Pleaſure of others; nay perhaps are worſe, by the fears and terrors Men muſt be always under, even whilſt they do not actually ſuffer; which will take away the edge and life of Induſtry, and will ruine or drive away the Merchants, and thoſe who have Stocks in Manufacture, who neither will, nor can labour all their lives for Wealth under daily expectations of loſing what they painfully get, which in this laſt Age hath obliged the *French* Monarchy to permit divers Immunities to their Manufacturers, and of late to their Fiſhers and other Maritime Traders, which have now gotten the reputation of eſtabliſhed Laws; at leaſt they are ſuch as are ſatisfactory *to the French Natives*, who cannot have, nor are acquainted with better terms, and who are of themſelves ſo numerous, that they ſtand in no need of Supplies of People from abroad; and therefore of no greater invitations of this nature to bring in Forreigners, and the rather, becauſe their

Trade is otherwiſe ſo much eaſed and incouraged, (of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more;) ſo have the *great Dukes of Tuſcany* in this laſt Age been curiouſly vigilant to provide for the Freedom of Traders, both Domeſtick and Forreign: The *Dutch*, *Venetians*, *Hamburghers*, and other Trading States do yet farther ſecure the Liberties and Properties of their Natives, and others, under their ſeveral Juriſdictions, by fundamental and unalterable Conſtitutions

Which being admitted, it doth not follow that a Nation which hath meer Liberty and Property, without other requiſite incouragements, ſhall drive any great Trade; we have an Example in *Genoa*, at this day, a *Republick*, where, becauſe they ſet a Cuſtom of 16 *per Cent.* on Goods Imported, they loſt their Trade of Forreign Merchandize to *Leghorne*, made a free Port by the *Duke of Tuſcany*; what then may we hope for from the meer Liberty and Property of the *Engliſh*, when in *England* the Cuſtoms are generally higher, and our other difficulties on Trade are yet more grievous than the Cuſtoms? by the Accompt we have from our firſt Diſcoverers and Planters in *America*, moſt of theſe poor Nations had a Home-Liberty and Property.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Further presumptions of our late National Over-ballance in Trade; an Account from the Mint in November 75. *and thence our former Ballance of Trade estimated.*

AS a further Evidence that our National Trade hath been *Consumptive*, and that I may silence the prevarications of some whose private Interest or Passions (which are but the fermentations of their Interests) teach them to affirm the contrary, I shall take notice of the following Accompt taken and Printed in *November* 1675. for the clearing a Debate then before a Committee of Parliament, intituled as followeth.

An Account of all the Gold and Silver Coined in His Majesties Mint within the Tower of London, *from the first of* October 1599. *being the forty first year of the Reign of* Queen Eliz. *to* November 1675. *being* 76 *years, divided into four parts; shewing how the Coin of this Kingdom did increase in the three first parts, proportionable to the increase of Trade and Navigation, and how much it hath decreased in the fourth part.*

Gold

Gold and Silver Coined.	Totals by Tale.	Yearly Medium.
From the first of *Octob.* 1599. to the last of *March* 1619. was Coined four Millions seven Hundred seventy nine Thousand three Hundred and fourteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence; which was *per An'* two Hundred forty five Thousand ninety two Pounds Eleven Shillings & six Pence.	*l.* *s.* *d.* 4779314 13 4	*l.* *s.* *d.* 245092 11 06
From the last of *March* 1619. to the last of *March* 1638. was Coined six Millions nine Hundred thousand forty two Pounds eleven Shillings and one Peny; which was *per An'* three Hundred sixty three thousand one hundred & sixty Pounds two Shillings one Peny farthing.	6900042 11 1	363160 02 1¼
From the last of *March* 1638. to *May* 1657. was Coined seven Millions seven Hundred thirty three Thousand five Hundred twenty one Pounds		

Gold and Silver Coined. | *Totals by Tale.* | *Yearly Medium.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
thirteen Shillings four pence farthing; which was *per An'* four Hundred and seven thousand and twenty seven Pounds nine Shillings one Peny ½ penny.	7733521	13	4¼	407027	9	1½
From *May* 1657. to *Nov.* 75. being 18 years and a half, was Coined three Millions two hundred thirty eight thousand nine hundred ninety seven Pounds sixteen Shillings and three farthings; about one Million of which was Harp and Cross Money, and broad Gold, *&c.* re-coined; which deducted, there remains but 2 Millions two hundred thirty eight thousand nine hundred ninety seven Pounds 16 *s.* three farthings; which was *per An'* but one hundred twenty one thousand 26 *l.* eighteen Shillings and four Pence.	2238997	16	¾	121026	18	04
The total of all Gold & Silver Coined in these 76 years, from the first of						

Octob.

Gold and Silver Coined	*Totals by Tale.*					
Octob. 1599. to *Novemb.* 1675. was Coined twenty one Millions eight hundred fifty one thousand eight hundred seventy six Pounds fourteen Shillings seven Pence half-peny.		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
	21851876	14	7	$\frac{1}{2}$		
The Coin yearly increased in the 2*d* part, from the last of *March* 1619. to the last of *March* 1638. more than in the first part, one hundred and eighteen thousand sixty seven Pounds ten Shillings seven pence farthing; the Total thereof is two Millions two hundred forty three thousand two hundred eighty three Pounds one Shilling two pence.	*Yearly Increase.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*Total Increase* *l.*	*s.* *d.*
	118067	10	4		2243283	01 02
The Coin yearly increased in the 3*d* part, from the last of *March* 1638. to *May* 1657. one hundred sixty one thousand nine hundred thirty four Pounds 17 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, the Total thereof is	161934	17	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	3076762	14 10$\frac{1}{2}$

Gold and Silver Coined.

three Millions seventy six thousand seven hundred sixty two Pounds fourteen Shilling ten pence half-peny.

The Coin hath yearly decreased in the fourth part, from *May* 1657. to this present *November* 1675. being the last eighteen years and half, two hundred eighty six thousand Pounds ten Shillings nine pence half-peny; the total whereof is five Millions two hundred ninety one thousand and nine Pounds nineteen Shillings four pence farthing.

	Yearly Decrease.			*Tot' Decrease.*		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
	286000	10	$9\frac{1}{2}$	5291009	19	$4\frac{1}{4}$

This prodigious decrease of Coin in the last eighteen years, does undeniably evidence a vast decay in our Trade: but since, even in these latter years, there hath been somewhat above 120000 *l. per An'* Coined, as appears by the Account, it doth seem to administer an Objection, that still there hath been some National gain by Trade, though much less than before.

But this does not follow, for if more Money hath been exported yearly during these last eighteen years than hath been Coined, the National Treasure must be diminished: Now if we have been over-ballanced, more Money must be exported; so that it will resolve into the former Question.

It

It is a vain thing to ſay, that the exportation of Money in *ſpecie* ſtands ſtill *prohibited*; ſo is the exporting of Treaſure prohibited in *Spain* under the higheſt Penalties; and yet becauſe *Spain* is over-ballanced by conſumptive Importations, Forreigners continually carry it away; ſo that were it not for their Mines, there would not have been the value of a Peny left in *Spain* many years ſince; nor can their *Mines* ſo anſwer this mighty *drain* by a conſumptive Trade, but that the Treaſures of *Spain* are drawn lower than in any Nation in *Europe*.

And therefore though the ordinary Trading with exported Money is condemnable, as that which tends to the ſubverſion of Manufacture and People, and facilitates meer Importation; yet I cannot recommend prohibitory Laws as a means to ſtop the exportation of Money, unleſs at the ſame time the Methods of Trade be regulated.

'Tis now become more practicable by the Liberty given for the Exportation of Bullion; for upon any great emergency for Bullion, (as for inſtance) upon the going out of *an Eaſt-India Fleet*, Standard-Silver hath riſen from 5 *s.* the Ounce to 5 *s.* 4 *d.* the Ounce; which being about 10 *per Cent.* muſt not only hinder the Coining of Bullion, but muſt cauſe our weighty Coin to be melted into Bullion, and ſo exported as it hath been noted before.

And upon the like occaſions 'tis obſervable, that Guinnies riſe to 22 *s.* apiece, & broad Gold to 24 *s.* apiece, which does evince, that thoſe who uſe that Trade do not confine themſelves to Bullion.

So 'tis notorious to thoſe who underſtand our *Northern* and *Eaſtern* Trades, and our Trade to *France*, the *Countries*, *Turkey*, &c. that we yearly export great quantities of Treaſure to thoſe and other Countries, and that

we do not ſtick at *Coined Money*, being cloſely put up in Packs of Goods or Barrels, or however may be made lawful and laudable Merchandize by melting; whence it is come to be ſo commonly aſſerted a Commodity; and then if we look back and obſerve how little hath been Coined in the 18 years ſince (57) being but 121026 *l. per An'*, it muſt be highly credible, that we have exported much more Money yearly than we have Coined.

But to make the over-ballance yet more evident, it will be neceſſary to find out, if poſſible, what was the yearly Treaſure the Nation gained by Forreign Trade, at any time in this laſt Age; and in the next place, how much our Exportations and beneficial part of our Trade have ſince failed, and our Importations increaſed in quantity and value.

The increaſe of Home-Treaſure muſt either be in Coined Money, or in Plate, made up for Home-uſes; for all Bullion imported muſt either be converted into one of theſe at home, or elſe be re-exported, and then 'tis not ſuperadded to the National Home-Treaſure.

Now if we look back to the Accompt from the *Mint*, we may conclude, that during thoſe 76 years, our Trade did never add more to our Coin yearly than 407027 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* ½ for any number of 20 years together; this being the utmoſt Medium comprized in the Accompt.

Plate Coined by the King at *Oxon*, and Parliament at *London*.

And this being in the 18 years before (57,) was not all the meer product of the Trade of theſe very years, for 'tis well known that during thoſe years we had good quantities of our own Plate Coined into Money, 'tis not poſſible for me to aſcertain how much; but if it were a Million, it ought to be deducted out of the Medium of thoſe years.

So

So during thoſe 18 years, our Trade might yet add leſs to our Coined *Money*, *viz.* in caſe our Forreign Trade did then export any of our Coined *Money*, the like may be ſaid of any other of the ſaid 18 years or Mediums in the Accompt; and then muſt all the Money ſo exported be alſo deducted out of the Annual Gain of thoſe years.

I believe none will expect that I ſhould adjuſt the yearly quantity of Money exported by ſtealth in our Forreign Trade before (57,) I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of the indifferent Reader upon what I ſhall add; but 'tis evident, that our Merchants did formerly uſe to export Money, by the prohibitory Statutes made on that occaſion:

It may be alſo further evident, that the yearly quantity of Money ſo exported before 57 was conſiderable; for before the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt, we muſt have had ſome ſtock of Money in the Nation, which ſuppoſing to be but ſix Millions, then adding what more was Coined during the ſaid 76 years, we muſt have had near 30 Millions of Coin in the Nation before 57, had none been exported; whereas no intelligent Man will ſay we had then half that Sum; which if doubted I ſhall have occaſion to enforce further; and if this be admitted, the Conſequence muſt be, that our Forreign Trade and occaſions did even before 57 carry off near half as much Money as was yearly Coined; and then our National yearly Gain in Coined Treaſure would not be near to the aforeſaid full Mediums Coined, nor to above half the Mediums, (taking any number of years together.)

Nor can we reckon or allow of above 50000 *l. per Annum* for increaſe of *Home-Plate*, during any of the ſaid 18 years, conſidering that much Plate is always

brought back to the Mint, or turned into Bullion, as other new Plate is made; and that at this allowance for Plate, in any twenty years time there would be a Million increaſe of Home-Plate in the Nation.

Upon the whole the Reader may obſerve what our utmoſt National Gain in increaſe of Treaſure poſſibly might be, and upon the aforeſaid grounds may deduct from any of the Mediums as he ſhall think reaſonable, wherein I ſhall not pretend to confine him, though in my private Judgment I cannot eſtimate our utmoſt National increaſe of Treaſure by Trade during any of the ſaid 76 years to be above 250000 *l. per Annum*, or thereabouts for any twenty years together.

Conſidering which, if the indifferent Reader ſhall reflect on what hath been ſaid in the *5th*, *6th*, *7th* and *8th* Sections, if he there find that our Trade hath been under ſuch difficulties, as muſt neceſſarily work us out of all the parts of it, whilſt our Neighbours are enabled to ſnatch it from us: If he there find undeniable Inſtances of it in ſome Particulars, he may for the ſame Reaſons conclude the like in all others; and by Conſequence that our National Trade long before this, became leſs beneficial than it was by 250000 *l. per Annum*; it hath been always found moſt ſafe to be governed by the Cauſes and Reaſons of things, but the concurrent impoveriſhment of our People, and other the Symptoms, Plague-ſores, and Spots of a conſumptive Trade do further evidence it.

It is confeſſed it would be of great uſe, if the odds in our paſt and preſent National Forreign Trade might be certainly ſtated; a difficult, if not impoſſible task: Since it requires an antient, as well as modern experience in Forreign Trade, and not of any one Trader only, but of ſo many as have traded into all Parts;

of

of thoſe that are curious, intelligent, and impartial, and have minded the *publick Intereſt* as well as their *own*; perhaps if a ſufficient number of ſuch as theſe did aſſemble, they might, upon debate, and with reference to their Books, bring the Compute very near the truth; but nothing of this hath been done of late; and whoſoever ſhall promiſcuouſly conſult our Traders apart, will find them various: Then for our Cuſtom-Books old or new, though they might be uſeful for ſome things, yet they cannot aſcertain us in the odds of the Forreign values of any Exported or Imported Goods, nor of the quantity of Imported prohibited or ſmuggled Goods, nor (as I conceive) of our former or preſent Fiſhing-Trade, (Fiſh paying no Cuſtom) nor of the gain of Carriage, nor of the Trade from Port to Port; without which the certain odds in the Ballance cannot be calculated; and therefore for my own part I reſt chiefly on what hath been ſaid; believing my ſelf ſecure whilſt I keep my ſelf to the *rational part*, which cannot be refuted but by Reaſon: Whereas I am apprehenſive that ſhould I deſcend to examine our Ballance of Trade by the particular *effects* of the foregoing *Cauſes*, theſe being matters of *Fact*, and very many, and moſt of them Forreign, and of leſs Notoriety, may be liable to Exceptions or Cavils of particular Men, as their different Sentiments or Intereſts may dictate; it being as eaſie to deny as affirm, and as hard for many Readers to determine the truth in theſe matters; whereby the ſincerity of the Relator may be drawn into queſtion; and at ſuch times, when he ſhall have no opportunity to defend himſelf: and I am not inſenſible, that amongſt ſo many Facts as the nature of this Subject hath forced me to mention, (whereof I muſt ſpeak much upon the credit I give to others)

'tis

'tis impoſſible there may be ſome ſlips, even by the tranſcribing of Papers: Upon theſe Conſiderations, I had thoughts of laying aſide part of the three next Sections as needleſs, and neglected ſomewhat of that Curioſity I intended, but being peruſed and approved by ſome Friends amongſt the reſt of theſe Papers, they have perſwaded me to publiſh them as they are, upon apprehenſion that they will enforce what I have already ſaid, though left ſo general, and will give the Reader a further uſeful light into the paſt and preſent nature and condition of our Trade and Nation: and ſince they do not bind up the Reader to preciſe Quantities and Values, can admit of little alteration; in which I have been the more ready to comply, upon hopes that I may awaken and ſpur on the *virtuous emulation* of others to a more compleat diſquiſition into the ſeveral branches of our Trade, and that the Reader will think me the more excuſable in this and the reſt I have undertaken, when he ſhall obſerve the preſent Subject ſo *Copious*, and ſo little laboured by other Writers, that I have no common Places or beaten Tracks to follow, as in other Studies.

This I aſſure the Reader, that amongſt the following inſtances, or elſewhere, there are no wilfull or effected errors, and that I have not affirmed any thing which I do not know, but upon ſuch Authority as I have reaſon to believe *highly* credible, and am confident that whatſoever miſtakes in Fact the Curious may find out in what I have already ſaid, or ſhall ſay, there are none ſuch as do in the leaſt impeach the *force* or *reaſon* of this Diſcourſe, and then muſt be admitted immaterial.

To which I ſhall add, that by the following Eſſay, I do not pretend to that difficult work of adjuſting the preſent

preſent Ballance of our Trade, but to evince, that the former Ballance of our Trade (as it may be computed from the aforeſaid Accompt, from the Mint or otherwiſe) is grown conſumptive in *ſome degree*; which I think will appear to the indifferent Readers ſatisfaction, upon conſideration of ſome late decays and defalcations in our Trade, wherein I ſhall confine my ſelf to ſuch as have happened long after the beginning of the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt, from the Mint, many of them within 20 years laſt.

SECT. XI.

Particular decays in our Exportations, and the beneficial parts of our Trade; Inſtances in the decay of our Foreign-Trade for Woollen Clothing, in the ſeveral Countries and Ports we Traded to, in the ſinking of the foreign price of this Manufacture, ſo of exporting Wooll, in our foreign victualling Trades for Fleſh, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. in our Iriſh *Trade, and* Scotch *Trade for almoſt all ſorts of Commodities:* Iriſh *Wooll increaſed: The Expiration of the* Iriſh *Acts will not now reveſt that Trade, but prejudice us more, and in what: decays in our ſeveral former and late Fiſhing-Trades, in our Foreign-Trade for Stockings and Hats in our exports to the* Canaries, *in the Foreign-Price of our exported Tyn and Lead, and the Price and quantity of exported Pewter, in our Trade from Port to Port, our former and late prejudices in our Plantation-Trade, incidently of our Navigation and other things.*

I Shall begin with our Exportations, and as I ſhall paſs from one particular to another, in this and the next Section, ſhall deſire the indifferent Reader to put ſuch an eſtimation on our loſſes in Trade,

Trade, as he ſhall think reaſonable; and ſhall firſt inſtance in our Woollen Manufactures, as being our principal Commodity, and certainly of the moſt general and neceſſary uſe, (and therefore in its nature the beſt) in the World.

Before *Edward the thirds* time the *Flemings* Manufactured our Wooll, and had the Merchandize of it, which gave the original Foundation to the former Wealth and Popularity of the *Netherlands*.

Edw. 3. obſerving the great advantages the *Flemings* made of our Wooll, brought over ſome Flemiſh Manufacturers, who by degrees taught the Manufacture of *Cloaths* of all ſorts, *Worſted* and divers others, particularly mentioned in our *Statutes* of former times; and as the *Engliſh* more applied themſelves to it, and increaſed ours (as ſoon they did) ſo did that of the *Flemings* decay.

For firſt, the *Engliſh* had the materials cheaper than the *Flemings*, not only by the odds in the carriage out of *England*, but becauſe the raw Woolls afterwards exported were charged with great *Cuſtoms* and *Duties* to the King, as appears by the Acts and Writings of thoſe times.

Secondly, Becauſe the Manufacture was continually incouraged, and taken care of by Laws for that purpoſe, as alſo appears by our *Statute-Book*.

Thirdly, At that time we had none of the preſent Clogs on our Manufactures, which have either become ſo by the better Methods of Trade firſt contrived by the *Dutch* States, or have been grafted upon us by private or miſtaken intereſts long ſince *Edw.* 3*ds* time. I do not find that there was any abſolute *Prohibition* of exporting Wooll till the Statute of the 12th of His now Majeſty, chap. 32. yet the example

of

of our cunning Neighbours now tell us, that *Prohibitions*, accompanied with a due Improvement of Trade at home, are not to be condemned.

The *Flemiſh* Cloath-trade was long ſince ſo far reduced, that we had the ſole Merchandiſe of it, yet it cannot be denyed but the *Flemings* kept up a Manufacture of a ſort of *Stuffs* and *Sayes*, (but of no great bulk) the make whereof the *Engliſh* had not been taught, till the *Duke* of *Alva* about 100 years ſince by his Tyranny and Perſecution for Conſcience, drove away their Manufacturers, whom *Queen Elizabeth* like her wiſe Predeceſſor *Edward the third* entertained, ſeating them in *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, and *Canterbury*, whereby theſe Manufactures became incorporated into the *Engliſh*, to the great advantage of theſe parts, and of the Nation in general: they alſo taught us the art of making *Tapeſtry*.

Before this the *Engliſh* exported great quantities of our Manufacture into *Flanders*, but doubtleſs more afterwards, for which we kept a rich Staple at *Antwerp*, the *Dutch* long after they became States were ignorant of this Manufacture, whom we therefore wholly ſupplied, exporting vaſt quantities of our Cloaths thither, moſt Whites, which were there dyed and dreſſed, and from theſe parts tranſmitted into the *Southern* and *South-eaſt* Countries of *Germany*, and many other Nations: we had alſo the ſole trade up the *Elbe*, and thereby to the *North* parts of *Germany*, *Jutland* and *Holſteyne*.

We had the ſole Trade into *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Swedeland* and *Liefland*, and to the great Territory of *Poland* (through *Dantzick*) by our *Eaſtland Company*, formerly very flouriſhing, and called the *Royal Company*.

We

We had alſo the ſole Trade to the vaſt Empire of *Muſcovy*.

All which Trades are ſunk to a ſmall matter, the *Dutch* having ſet up mighty Woollen Manufactures of all ſorts, and the *Flemings* renewed or enlarged theirs, our exports to *thoſe* parts are very much reduced.

Our *Hamburgh Company*, by whom the *North* parts of *Germany*, *Jutland* and *Holſteyne* were ſupplied, do not vend near half what they did, the *Dutch* and other Manufactures having prevailed upon us in thoſe parts, both for the Fineſt and Courſeſt Cloaths: what we now export to *Hamburgh* are a ſort of Cloaths of between 3, and 7 *s.* a Yard, and of thoſe not near the former quantity.

Then for our *Eaſtland Trade* it is ſunk more, I have heard ſeveral Eſtimates, all near concurring with what I find in Mr. *Cokes* third Treatiſe of Trade, dedicated to *Prince Rupert*, *viz.* That this Company only heretofore uſually exported above 20000 Broad Cloaths, 60000 Kerſeys and 40000 Doubles yearly; but of late years not above 4000 Broad Cloaths, 5000 Kerſeys, and 2000 Doubles. To give this worthy Gentleman his due, he hath written more materially on the preſent ſubject than any man in this Age, in which he hath not only demonſtrated his deep Judgement, but his great ſeduli-

Pag. 33, 34.

ty and ſincerity in the diſcovery of the truth, profeſſing himſelf ready to make out whatſoever he hath reported, before any Judicature. There is too much reaſon and fact to warrant the great decay of this *Eaſtland Trade*, when the *Dutch* Manufacture is arrived to ſuch a degree, beſides which the *Sileſian*

Pag. 112.

and

and *Polonian* Manufactures of Coarſe Woolls are mightily increaſed, ſo that at *Dantzick*, our late great ſtaple, we now ſell ſo little that 'tis not worth the naming; we now trade *thither* with Treaſure, whence we uſed to Import much; the like may be ſaid of other Ports this Company formerly traded to.

Then for *Swedeland*, the Natives have lately ſet up a Manufacture there of their Coarſe Woolls, as well as *Denmark*, *Liefland* and *Norway*, are very much ſupplied by the *Dutch*, impoſing greater Prices and Cuſtoms upon us for what they vend, and inſiſting to have Treaſure of us, where before they bartered for Commodity.

To which I may add, That our late great *Muſcovy* Trade is in a manner loſt; the ſame Mr. *Coke* takes notice that the *Dutch* ſend 1500 Sail of Ships into the *Sound* in a year, and 40 to *Muſcovy*, we do not ſend above ſeven into the *Sound* in a year, of which two are laden with woollen Manufactures, the other five with Ballaſt, (and are therefore to buy their foreign lading) and to *Muſcovy* we hardly ſend two in three years; during the late War we have ſent ſomewhat more.

We had alſo the ſole trading for woollen Cloathing into *France*, of which we vended there to the value of 600000 *l.* yearly; but the *French* ha-

having for theſe later years ſet up this Manufacture at home, do now ſupply themſelves; and as their own hath increaſed, ſo have they laid greater Impoſitions upon ours, till in (67) the *French* King ſet an intolerable Tax of about 50 *per Cent.* on all our Cloathing imported into *France*, by which our Cloathing-trade to *France* became in a manner impracticable, nor have the *French* any occaſion to open this Trade to us again.

This value of our exported Cloathing to *France* is avouched by our Antient Traders thither, and ſo aſſerted in the Printed Book in (77) in defence of our *Eaſt-India* Company.

We had alſo the ſole Cloathing-Trade into *Turkey*, *Spain* and its Dominion; and it muſt be confeſſed, that we have ſupported our *Turkey-Trade* better than any other, much occaſioned by our importation of raw Silk from thoſe parts, for which we uſed to barter: but of late years the *Dutch* are great Competitors with us in the *Turkey-Trade*, (though the *Engliſh* may have had the advantage whilſt the *Dutch* have been engaged in the late War;) the

French

French have been long nibling at this Trade, and both the *French* and *Dutch* largely ſhare with us in the *Spaniſh-Trade*.

But what is yet more grievous, we import much *Fine Cloth* from the *Dutch* yearly, and till of late great quantities of *Stuffs* and *Druggets* from the *French*, which *French* Importation (only) amounted to the value of 150000 *l. per Annum*, as Mr. *Fortrey* in his Book of Trade reports; how much of theſe, or other *French* Goods may be imported for the future, may be gueſſed from what I ſhall ſay in the laſt Section concerning the *late Prohibition of French Goods*; in the mean time it may be obſerved, how far our late *Monopoly* of the Woollen Manufacture is *vaniſhed*.

We had alſo the ſole Trade for Woollen Manufactures to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, which Trade hath been decaying ſeveral years, becauſe of the Competition of the *French* and *Dutch*, but of late hath been worſe than ever; by reaſon that the Government of *Portugal* ſince the year 1660 hath prohibited the wearing of *Engliſh* Cloath; having ſet up this Manufacture of their own Wools; we ſtill drive a Trade thi-

hear the Complaints of these Clothiers, who continue in the Manufacture.

I may add, that our *exported Wool* is sunk to about a third of its late price.

And whereas before the said *Irish Acts*, Foreign *Ships* did use to *victual* themselves out of the plenties of *England*, the *Irish* being since forced to fat their own Cattle at home, and by the cheapness of their Lands being enabled to sell cheaper than the *English*, Foreigners do now victual their Ships out of the new stores of *Ireland*, and cheaper than we can in *England*; by which we are beat out of the Trade of *Foreign Victualing*: nay, what is yet harder upon us, the very *English Ships* do now ordinarily victual from *Ireland*: this Trade of *Victualling* is also much prejudiced by our late *Art of Navigation*, which does exclude much Forreign Shipping from our Ports; and of what yearly loss this must be to the *English* Nation, and more particularly to the *English* Land-holders, I submit to Judgement.

Also

Alſo the *Engliſh*, before the ſaid *Iriſh Acts*, Exported vaſt quantities of *Butter* to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, and into *Ireland* it ſelf, and *Cheeſe* alſo; but the *Iriſh* by the Stop of Importation of lean Cattle, being put to make another Rent of their Land, have ſet themſelves to the making of Butter and Cheeſe, and do not only ſupply themſelves, but by the cheapneſs of their Lands do under-ſell us to theſe Foreigners, and have therefore in a manner beaten us out of this Trade; and how much this muſt affect the *Dairies* and *Rents* of *England*, and what the yearly loſs to *England* may amount to, I alſo ſubmit to Judgment.

So before the ſaid *Iriſh Acts*, *England* did furniſh *Ireland* with *Hats*, *Stockings*, *Dying Stuffs*, *Hides*, *Fruit*, *Sugars*, *Tobaccoes*, *Silks of all ſorts*, *Gold*, *Silver*, *and Silk Lace*, *and Ribbons of all ſorts*. And before the Act of 15 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 7. Intituled, *Trade Incouraged* (by which the Importation of *Scotch* Cattle was ſtopt) *England* did furniſh *Scotland* with *wrought Wire of all ſorts*, *Haberdaſhers Ware*, *as Hats*, *Ribbons*, *Gloves*, *Buttons*,

Bandstrings of all sorts, Upholsterers Ware, as Hangings, Stools, Chairs, &c. all sorts of Cutlers Ware, as Knives, Scissers, Sickles, Scithes, all sorts of Slop-sellers Ware, as Stockings, Caps, course Shifts, and Frocks: By all which, the *English* Manufacturers and Nation made considerable Gain.

But the Commerce between between *England* and *Ireland*, and *England* and *Scotland*, being stopt by reason of the said Acts, the *Irish* and *Scotch* do otherwise supply themselves with these Manufactures, partly by the like Manufactures set up at home, partly by such other Foreigners with whom they now Trade: And the *Scots* upon occasion of the said Act of 15 *Car.* 2. imposed a Tax of 90 *per Cent.* on all *English* Commodities Imported into *Scotland.*

It is a hard matter to put a just Estimate on these yearly Losses; for the present I shall leave it to be computed by our *Melancholick English* Tradesmen.

By means of the same *Irish Acts*, we have also lost the Exportation of *English Hops and Beer* from the Eastern, Southern, and Western Parts of *England* into *Ireland.*

And

And whereas before the ſaid *Iriſh* Acts, *England* was the *Storehouſe* of *Ireland*, and did furniſh the *Iriſh* with *Foreign imported Wares* of all ſorts, and our *Iriſh* Trade did maintain above 100 *Sail of our Ships ſailing between*, beſides what were employed outwards with Commodities of the growths of *Ireland*; ſince the ſaid Acts, the *Iriſh* are ſupplied by the *Dutch*, or other Foreign Stores and Navigation, and are much *increaſed in Shipping of their own.*

And as if the miſchief of theſe Acts would never have an end, it may be further obſerved, they were the occaſion of *Increaſe of Sheep*, and thereby of a vaſt *increaſe of Wool* in *Ireland*, by which the *French* and *Dutch* Woollen Manufactures are now more plentifully ſupported, and rather cheaper than the *Engliſh.*

And now the *Iriſh*, for the former Reaſons, alſo furniſh our *Foreign Plantations*, with very much of their Butter, Cheeſe, Clothes, and other neceſſaries of the growth and product of *Ireland*: Conſidering which, and that thoſe of *New England*, of late

furniſh the reſt with *Flower*, *Bisket*, *Salt*, *Fleſh*, *Fiſh*, &c. (all which were formerly Exported from hence) we may expect our *Plantation-Trade* for *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, &c. muſt e're long be wholly driven with *Exported Money*, *or with foreign Goods bought with Exported Money*, ſince by this means, by the inſufficiency of our own home-Manufactures, and the *growing Luxury* of our *Planters*, we are forced to ſend vaſt quantities thither already, particularly, *foreign Linnens of all ſorts*, *Paper*, *Silks*, *and Wines of all ſorts*, *Brandies*, and other things mentioned in the next Section, beſides great quantities *of Wines* ſent from the *Madera's*, paid by Bills of Exchange drawn on our Merchants in *Lisbon*. The conſequence of the Whole is, that the loſs of the *Iriſh Trade*, and the conſequences thereof, have much aſſiſted in the Impoveriſhment of the *Engliſh*, (who bear almoſt all the Charge of the Government) and will eat upon us more and more daily; and on the other ſide the *Iriſh*, who lately dealt ſo cruelly by us, and are a Conquered People, are made far richer on a ſuddain, and that the *Iriſh Lands*

do

do much riſe in Rent, whileſt the *Engliſh* ſink.

Having given this Accompt of our direct and Conſequential Loſſes by *the Iriſh Acts*, I expect to be Anſwered by ſome, That howſoever theſe Acts may have prejudiced us for the time paſt, they are *now expired*, and that by Conſequence we ſhall now be let into all the advantages we had before the Acts made. This I ſhall examine before I go further, and with that Impartiality as I think becomes an *Engliſhman*, without being byaſſed by the Situation of my Lands: which if any man does, this Conſequence muſt appear miſtaken.

For firſt, The Manufactures ſet up in *Ireland*, will ſtill Continue to the ſame prejudice of ours; and 'tis highly probable (if not certain) that they will Improve, by the cheapneſs of their Proviſion and Wages.

Secondly, Having now long uſed to fatt their Cattle (with which they do not only continually Victual all ſorts of Ships, but Forreign Towns, Armies and Nations, particularly the *French*, and thoſe of the United Provinces, beſides the Return they make by the Vent of their Hides and Tallowes) it is not to be Imagined that they will be ſo mad as to give up this far more profitable Trade.

Thirdly, They will breed, manufacture, and Export as much Wooll, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. as before.

Fourthly, Theſe Exportations obliging them to Commerce with the *French* and *Dutch*, as before, it muſt be expected that they will generally ſtill buy ſuch Commodities as they want of the *Dutch* and *French*; and much the rather, becauſe the *Dutch* and *French*, for Reaſons before mentioned, can and will afford them much cheaper than the *Engliſh*.

What Advantages ſhall we then have by the expiring of the *Iriſh Acts*? 'tis confeſſed, that their Territory being large, moſt Fruitful, and now plentifully ſtored with Cattle, they may carry on their other Trades, and yet furniſh us with abundant Stores of Cattle for our Money; which they already do, ſending many of their Cattle near or altogether *fatt*: ſuppoſing them *lean*, yet will not this Nation get 3 d. a year by it, but will be a yearly loſer.

For the meer Importing of *Iriſh* Cattle, did never advantage this Nation otherwiſe, than as it ſecured the *Iriſh* in that baſe way of Trade, and from turning their National Induſtry into a Competition with the *Engliſh* in other Trades; during which time, what Money they received for their Cattle, they generally laid out in *London*, or elſewhere in *England*, for the Commodities I mentioned before, and others, by which *Ireland* was ſtored; But now I do not ſee how it can be avoided, but that they will carry out all or the greateſt part of the

Money

Money they receive, in *Specie*, which may probably be little leſs than 100000 *l. per Annum*, I conceive much more than double that Sum, Conſidering what Victuals and other Commodities we freight from thence in our Voyages Yearly; ſo that the Importing of theſe Cattle will not only greatly ſink the *Welch* and *Northern Rents*, but all *other Rents* in a little time; which muſt demonſtrate the further neceſſity of Eaſing and regulating our Trade equal to the *Dutch* or *French*, who will otherwiſe thruſt us out of this Trade and all other, and will give a greater Vent to the *Iriſh* Commodities daily. In the mean time we may obſerve, that we ought not to be governed by ſuch narrow Principles as the Situation of our *Engliſh Lands*, but by the National Intereſt. Laſtly, I ſhall add, That ſhould we ſuppoſe a Compleat reſtitution of our loſſes in and by the *Iriſh Trade*, Yet Conſidering our other defalcations in Trade, and our preſent Poverty, it would not reſtore the Ballance of our Trade, or not to any ſuch degree, as to ſecure the Nation.

Our *Fiſhing Trade* hath decayed continually of later years; we formerly ſupplied *France*, *Spain*, *Muſcovy*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, with great quantities of White Herring, Ling,

and Cod-fiſh, which Trade is now loſt to the *Dutch*, *French*, &c. We have only the Trade of *Red Herrings*, which we retain; becauſe, before the *Dutch* can bring their Herrings upon their own coaſts, they grow too ſtale to be cured for Red Herrings: and what a miſerable thing is it for our poor ſtarving Natives to ſee the *Dutch*, and other Foreigners draw ſuch Ineſtimable Treaſures out of our own Seas, and at our Doors? This Fiſhing Trade (bringing in *no Cuſtom*) was inſenſibly loſt in the purſuit of our *Plantation-Trade*, on which great *Cuſtoms* are Impoſed.

So is our *Iſeland Fiſhing* very much decayed, where we have not a fourth part of the Trade we had twenty or thirty years ſince; the like may be ſaid of our *Newfound-Land Fiſhing*; and our *Groenland Fiſhing*, where we had the ſole Trade, is quite *loſt*: the *Dutch* had far beaten us out of theſe Trades,

Mr. *Smith* cited before, reaſonably computes other Nations gain, 10000000 *l. per annum* by this Fiſhing Trade only, whereof the *Dutch* above 5000000 *l.* Mr. *Mun* in 63. ſaith, It was found that all our Exported Fiſh, of all ſorts, amounted to but 140000 *l. per annum*, Pag. 184.

but

but the *French* of later years have ſtruck into a good ſhare of the Whole, beating out the *Engliſh* more & more; And by the loſs of our Fiſhing Trade, our National Gain muſt not only be vaſtly ſunk, but our Sea Coaſts are generally impoveriſhed to a lamentable and almoſt incredible degree, and our Nation is deprived of this great and neceſſary *Nurſery of Seamen.*

Our Foreign Trade for Woven *Silk-Stockings*, and *Knit Woollen Stockings*, is much decayed, by reaſon that theſe Manufactures are ſet up in divers foreign Countries, which (though perhaps they are not, nor for Woollen Stockings can ever be ſo good as ours) yet they greatly hinder our Foreign Vent; and our late great Trade and Exportation of Engliſh *Hats* to *Spain*, is in a manner loſt, being now moſtly ſupplied by the *French*.

Our Exportations to the *Canary Iſlands* are vaſtly ſunk in quantity and value, from what they formerly and lately were; of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the next Section.

Amongſt many other Excellent Materials

Materials, we have in *England* great ſtore of *Tyn and Lead*, capable of rich and mighty Manufactures in mixture, and otherwiſe, as appears by our Imported *Tynned Plates* from *Germany*, which are computed to coſt *England* near 100000 l. *per Annum*; and then what does that Manufacture bring into *Germany* from other Countreys? This Art the *Engliſh* were never taught, but have had a Manufacture of *Pewter*, made of our Tyn and Lead, of which we made and exported far greater quantities to *Spain*, than of late Years we have done, ſince the *Dutch* and others came to ſhare with us in that Trade, ſo did we export more of it into *France* and *Holland*, in which Countreys 'tis now prohibited. We now Manufacture very little of our Tyn and Lead, but export theſe materials to be Manufactured in other Nations, to whom we are little better than the Miners; and though ſome Forreigners have lately taught us to make better Pewter than before, yet the bulk and exportation of it is much leſs. Our exported *Tyn* is ſunk more than *half* its former forreign *Price*, and our exported

ported *Pewter* above *a third*, as is alſo our exported *Lead*.

Perhaps more inſtances might be given of decayes in our Exportations of late Years, though it may be conſidered that we never had many Exportable Manufactures of very great bulk and value, nor in truth any but that of our Wooll; ſo that if we ſo much fail of our former gain in this Commodity, it muſt ſtrike deep on our former Ballance; But much more if we alſo fail in ſo many other Exportations and Beneficial Trades.

And after theſe loſſes in our Exporting Trade, a further Eſtimate ought to be made of the decay in our Trade from *Port to Port*; for though the *Engliſh* never were, nor ſince the *Dutch* began to trade could be, conſiderably Maſters of this kind of Trade; Yet may it be preſumed, that whilſt we kept the *Monopoly of Cloth*, our Merchants by the Barter and Vent of this Commodity had then more advantagious Opportunities of Buying and Selling Forreign goods in Forreign Ports; and the rather, becauſe it not only gave the *Engliſh* an extraordinary Reputation, but a real preference in thoſe Parts they then principally Traded to; beſides, the former *Privileges* the *Engliſh* long enjoyed in *Muſcovy*, enabled them to ſo much of this kind of Trade as related to that Empire, which advantage we have loſt by the reſumption

ſumption of thoſe Priviledges, whereof I ſhall ſay more.

But perhaps I may be told, That all our before mentioned Defalcations in the beneficial parts of our Trade, have been made good by the Acceſſion of the *Plantation-Trade* in the Reign of King *James*, (being within the Compaſs of the 76 Years mentioned in the Accompt from the Mint) and by the Increaſe of it ſince; and I the rather expect this Objection, becauſe this Trade remaining incloſed to the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, who for Want of other Trade are *thruſt* into it, it makes a great *noiſe* amongſt us; I ſhall therefore ſpeak more particularly to it, than yet I have, that I may leave no Holes for Starters.

It may be Alledged, and muſt be Confeſſed, That this Trade hath imployed a good number of Ships, and hath brought in great Cuſtoms; but nothing of this is to the preſent queſtion, being only, Whether it hath advantaged the Nation in its Annual gain of Treaſure; which I conceive this Trade hath not, if ballanced with the loſſes the Nation hath received by it.

All the Gain *England* can or ever could receive by this Trade, muſt be in the Return and Reſult of thoſe Commodities we import from the *Plantations*, (*viz.* Sugars, Tobaccoes, Dying Stuffs,&c.) in Exchange for ſo much of our Butter,

Butter, Cheeſe, Beer, Woollen Cloaths, Hats, Shoes, Iron-work, and other home-Commodities as we Export thither.

Now that the Labours of the ſame People in Fiſhing or Manufactures *at home* did, and would have produced a greater Profit to the Nation than theſe *Plantation-Commodities*, I think no man, conſidering what hath been ſaid before, can ſo much as make a queſtion. In fact our Fiſhing for White Herring and Cod was deſerted for this Trade, and the Continual tranſplanting of multitudes of our Manufacturers and other people, hath inevitably more and more *ſunk* and *diſabled* us in all Manufactures and home-Employments.

Then for the ſuppoſed advantage we have in the Vent of our home-Commodities to the Plantations, 'tis plain they are but our own People; and it muſt be undeniable, that had the ſame People ſtayed in *England*, they would have taken off a far greater Quantity; for whereas we now furniſh them with ſome ſmall part of their Victuals, we ſhould then have ſupplyed them with All, *viz.* with Bread, Fleſh, Fiſh, Roots, &c. which now we do not; and they would have taken off far more of our Butter, Cheeſe, Cloathing, Drink, and other home Commodities, when they had them at hand, and had been put to no other ſhifts.

But our infelicity is yet greater; for our Planta-

Plantation-Trade (though at the beſt far leſs valuable to the Nation than the ſame People and their Labours at home) is yet grown much worſe than it was 20 or 30 Years ſince, and muſt grow worſe and worſe Continually.

This muſt notoriouſly appear by what hath been ſaid in this Section, whereby means of the late *Iriſh* Acts, and for other Reaſons there mentioned, we are forced to Export unto, and furniſh theſe our Plantations with ſo much leſs quantities of our own, and ſo much greater quantities of Forreign Goods than formerly and lately we did.

See before.

Beſides which, by a further Improvidence we have loſt other advantages in this Trade: Our Re-exporters being to receive back half the Cuſtoms (which in this Trade are very mighty) it hath followed, that the *Dutch* coming to be furniſhed with our *Sugars and Dying Stuffs* much cheaper than the *Engliſh*, (as being charged not with half the Cuſtoms) have been by that means able to ſet up and beat us out of the Forreign Trade of *baked Sugars*, of which they bake and vend above 20 times the quantity the *Engliſh* do; ſo do they now uſe far the greateſt part of our *Dying Stuffs*, gaining near as much, if not more, by theſe Manufactures than the raw materials yield the *Engliſh*.

Then

Then, if this Trade did originally ſubvert or weaken ſeveral better Trades, and beſides is now leſs valuable than it was, inſtead of an Improvement, it ought to be reckoned amongſt the defalcations in our preſent Trade. }oooooo

And though it be not ſo direct to the preſent queſtion, I ſhall adde, That we have little reaſon to boaſt of our *Navigation* in this Trade, when it was the occaſion of the loſs of a more certain and beneficial Nurſery of Seamen and Shipping in our Fiſhery, when at the ſame time the Strength and Buſineſs of the Nation have been ſo much contracted by the loſs of our People, when our Planters of *New England* having gotten a Conſiderable Navigation of their own, do Trade from *Port to Port* in *America*, and have in a manner beaten us out of that kind of Imployment in thoſe Parts; and when the *Iriſh Shipping*, together with the growing Plenties of *Ireland and New-England*, threaten the like in the Trade of *Exportation and Importation*. To all which may be added, what we ought to expect in caſe the *Dutch* may retain and Cultivate *Surinam* as far as 'tis capable, ſince it will produce as good *Sugars and Tobaccoes* as any part of *America*, and as much as will ſerve the greateſt part of the World, if not all.

Nay,

Nay, these *Plantations* may be Considered as the true Grounds and Causes of all our present Mischiefs; for, had our Fishers been put on no other Employment, had those Millions of People which we have lost or been prevented of by the *Plantations*, continued in *England*, the Government would long since have been under a necessity of Easing and regulating our Trade; the common Wants and Cryes of our People would infallibly have obliged it; but much of the Industry of the Nation being turned this way, and the *Plantations* affording room and hopes for Men of *necessitous and uneasie Conditions*, and our Lawes mentioned in the Seventh Section, posting them away, they have deserted the Nation Continually, and left us intricated and fettered in private Interests and destructive Constitutions of Trade. And thus, whilest we have been projecting the *Increase of Customs*, we have fed our selves with the *Shadows* of Trade, and suffered other Nations to run away with the *Substance*. I am assured, that the *English* at *Jamaica* are now near, if not fully treble what they were when Sir *Thomas Muddiford* was Governour there, and then they were at least 20000; whence some Conjecture may be made at the rest.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Inſtances in late Increaſes and Exceſſes of our Forreign Importations, and therein of the Decay of ſome other of our own Manufactures which ſupplyed our Home-Uſes, viz. *in Linnens of all ſorts, more dear fine Linnens uſed; incidently of the late and preſent Huſwifery of* Engliſh *Women: In Ticking, in Imported Woollen Manufactures from* Holland, France, *and* Ireland; *In Cordage, Cables, Sayls and Sea-Nets; in Iron, in Brandy, in Wines of all ſorts, theſe riſen in price; the particular odds in our former and preſent Canary-Trade; in Coffee, in Earthen Ware, Pitch, Tarre, Hemp, Flax, and Forreign Timber bought dearer, and far more Timber Imported: In Imported Silks of all ſorts; in Laces, and many other things, and thereupon our late* French *Overballance Conſidered. To which Added, our late loſſes by the* French Capers, *and Money Exported to* France *by our Travellers, &c. The National Overballance inferred, this cleared by a Deduction of our Trade, with Relation to the* Dutch *and* French, *and therein of their gradual Increaſe, and our Decay in Trade; Whence the Growth of the* French *and* Dutch *Revennes and Strengths obſerved; a farther Calculation of our late and preſent Overballance;*

lance; incidently of ſome farther Advantages in Trade Forreigners have upon us.

IN order to take a right Meaſure of the *Overballance*, it is obſerved in the Eighth Section, That if the beneficial part of our Trade become worſe, & the Conſumptive Importations increaſe, it will ſooner induce an Overballance, and will cut deepeſt on the National Stock of Treaſure.

Now it will much evidence the Increaſe of our Importations, if any of our own Manufactures which are of neceſſary Uſe at home, are loſt, or impaired in any Conſiderable degree of later Years, becauſe, the People muſt be then ſupplyed by the like Forreign Goods, to a greater degree than before.

I ſhall firſt inſtance in *Linnen*, lately a Conſiderable Manufacture in *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and the Parts adjacent; it was alſo the Huſwifery of our *Engliſh Ladies*, *Gentlewomen* and other *Women*; which general Employment of our *Women*, (although moſt deſigned for the private Uſes of Families) did keep very many Thouſands of Linnen Looms at work in *England*, and did ſupply the greateſt part of our National occaſion for Houſhold and Courſe Linnens of all ſorts.

But all this Manufacture of *Linnen* in *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and elſewhere, is now in a manner

manner expired; and the Huſwifely Women of *England* now employ themſelves in making an ill ſort of Lace, which ſerves no National or Natural Neceſſity; moſt of the reſt ſpend their times much worſe, or are *idle*, bringing a Scandal on themſelves and their Families; ſo that there is hardly a working Linnen Loom left in a County: which Idleneſs and Unprofitable living of our *Women*, gives the *Dutch* a farther great Advantage upon us, whoſe *Women* are mainly ſerviceable in Trade.

And hence hath followed a great Increaſe of Forreign *Imported Linnens* from *Holland* and *Germany*, *Dantzick*, &c. much of which ſince the Decay of our Cloth-Trade into thoſe Parts, we buy for Money, Bullion, or by Bills of Exchange, beſides a prodigious Increaſe of *Imported Linnens* from *France*, which of later Years hath been eſtimated to coſt the Nation at leaſt 500000 l. *per Annum*, which muſt now be ſupplyed from other Forreign Parts, and dearer, if our new Prohibition be obſerved. It hath alſo occaſioned a far greater Home-Conſumption of *Indian Callicoes*, &c. bought with Money; and the rather, becauſe the *Engliſh* of all ſorts uſe more Linnen than ever, in their

their Apparel, Beds, Curtains, Hangings, &c.

This Importation of Linnen is alſo become far more chargeable, by the more general Uſe of Dear *Fine Hollands*, and other *fine Forreign* Linnens of great Value; which till of later Years were only worn by ſome People of Quality, and by them very ſparingly.

Thus alſo is our Manufacture of *Ticking* in *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* much impaired, and much more Forreign Ticking Imported: Such is our Importation of Linnen, that at this day an *Engliſh* Linnen-Draper who deals for 80000 l. *per Annum* in Linnen, doth hardly ſell 200 l. *per Annum Engliſh* of all ſorts. Suppoſe all the People in *England* one with another beſtow 5 l. a piece more in Forreign Linnen Yearly, than they uſed to do; what a Vaſt Summe muſt this amount to? And this being of ſo Univerſal Uſe, how ſoon may the Increaſe of this Importation alone turn the *Ballance* of the *Engliſh* Trade? There is hardly any Nation in *Europe* but hath a Manufacture of Linnen, at leaſt for Home-Uſes, except *England*; from *Scotland* we have much, and in *Ireland* it is a growing Manufacture much encouraged.

To

To this may be added the New Importation of *Woollen Manufactures*, viz. *Cloths*, *Stuffs*, and *Druzgets* from *Holland* and *France*, of a great yearly value, mentioned in the Eleventh Section, but proper to be remembred here.

And it ought not to be forgotten, that no ſooner had the *Iriſh* learned to make *Frize*, but preſently *Iriſh Frize* became a great faſhion in *England*.

Our Manufactures of *Cordage for Ships*, *Cables*, *and Sea-Nets*, are alſo much decayed from what they were, much occaſioned by the late dearneſs of Imported Hemp and Flax, as hath been intimated before, and we are therefore forced to import much more of theſe Commodities from the *Dutch* and *French*; *the Act of Navigation not Prohibiting the Manufacture*; which is worthy to be obſerved.

There hath been a great Increaſe of imported *Iron* from *Swedeland*, *Flanders*, and *Spain*; by this means many Iron-Works are laid down already in *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey*, and elſewhere; and the reſt muſt ſuddainly follow (if the Importation continue,)

which will bring at leaſt 50000 Families in *England* on the Pariſh-Charge, and muſt ſink the price of all the Woods now employed for Iron-Works to little or nothing. Imported Wire hath already beat out our home-Manufacture of Wire.

Our *Engliſh* Diſtillations of *Strong Waters* of all ſorts, did formerly ſerve the National Uſes, but of late years, our People at home, and Mariners abroad, have been ſupplied with Imported *Brandy* from *France* and *Germany*, which being hardly known in *England* within leſs than 20 years, hath of late coſt the Nation above 100000 *l. per Annum.* } 000000

So hath the Importation of all ſorts of *Foreign Wines*, vaſtly increaſed of later years, eſpecially out of *France*. We have alſo bought *French* Wines *dearer* than formerly, and have bought them with our *Money*, *Bullion*, or by *Bills of Exchange*; but formerly with *our Exported Commodity.* } 000000

Beſides which, we have vaſt quantities of Imported *Spaniſh Wines*,

which

The Canary Wines are computed at about 13000 Pipes yearly, which at 20 *l. per* Pipe, amounts to 260000 *l. per Annum*; and that our Commodities Exported thither, do amount to about 65000 *l. per Annum.*

which till of later years, we alſo Purchaſed with our *exported Commodities*, at the rate of 10 *l. per* Pipe, but now at about 20 *l. per* Pipe, and moſtly with *Money*, *Bullion*, or *Bills of Exchange*; ſo that 'tis Computed that of later years it hath coſt *England* near 200000 *l. per Annum*, in Imported *Spaniſh Wine*, over and above the value of our Commodities Exported to the *Canaries*. } 200000

So, even *before the ſtop of French Wines*, we had very much more *Portugal* and *Rheniſh Wines* Imported and conſumed at home than ever; beſides *Italian*, *Greek*, and *Smyrna* Wines; if the Importation of *French Wines* continue prohibited, we muſt expect as much more of theſe and *Spaniſh Wines* as will anſwer our preſent General Debauchery: many of theſe Wines were hardly *known* in *England* of late years, and the reſt far more ſparingly drunk; but our Imported Wines do now in the Whole coſt the Nation the greater part of a Million *per Annum*. } 200000

Thus do we *ſwallow and piſs* out ineſtimable Treaſures, and contemn our own excellent and more wholſom Drinks, which might be improved to a much greater Perfection, both for our Uſe at home, and Trade abroad; and whilſt every one is an Ambitious Pretender to a Critical Palate in Wine, and is ready to impeach the Guilty Drawers for *Mixtures*, *Moloſſus*, and *Arſenick*, we are contented to let our Brewers abuſe our own Liquors as they pleaſe.

And as if the *Engliſh* could affect every thing becauſe it is Foreign, we have alſo a new chargeable Importation of *Coffee*, which of all others ſeems to be moſt uſeleſs, ſince it ſerves neither for Nouriſhment nor Debauchery. }000000

We have alſo had a vaſt Increaſe of imported *earthen Ware* from *Holland*, moſt of it made of *our own Earth and Lead.* }000000

To theſe ought to be added ſuch other *Importations*, as are now bought much *dearer* than *formerly*, ſpoken of before, but fit to be remembred here: Such are *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, and *Timber* from *Norway* and *Liefland*, being alſo moſtly bought *with Money*, ſince the decay of our Cloth-Trade into thoſe Parts; and of theſe the }000000

yearly

yearly *quantity* of *imported Timber* of all ſorts is vaſtly *increaſed* of later years, by reaſon of the Decay of our *Engliſh* Timber; ſo that we are overballanced in our Trade for theſe Commodities ſeveral 100000 *l. per Annum.*

Nay our ſo much boaſted *Turkey Trade* is ſo far infected by the general Diſeaſe, that we now yearly Export almoſt as much *Treaſure* to *Turkey*, as the value of our Cloth Exported thither amounts to. Of late years we Exported little or no Treaſure thither; Nay, I have heard that formerly we Imported Treaſure thence. In Exchange for the Treaſure and Cloth now Exported, the principal Commodity we Import is *raw Silk*, this ſerves our own Silk Manufactures moſt conſumed at home, except Silk-Stockings, for which our chief remaining Foreign Markets are *Cales* and *Hamburgh*. This Cloth-Trade depending on the vent of Imported Silk at home, is already conſiderably checked by the continual Increaſe of *Imported raw Silk* from the *Eaſt Indies*, where our *India Company* buy it with *Exported Treaſure*; this year

} 000000

they

they here Imported more than ever. This laſt Sale they expoſed to be ſold no leſs than 563 Bales of Raw Silk.

The *Engliſh* formerly wore or uſed little Silk in City or Countrey, only Perſons of Quality pretended to it; but as our National Gaudery hath increaſed, it grew more and more into Mode; and is now become the Common Wear, nay, the ordinary Material for Bedding, Hanging of Rooms, Carpets, Lining of Coaches, and other things: and our *Women*, who generally govern in this Caſe, muſt have *Foreign Silks*; for theſe have got the Name, and in truth are moſt curious, and perhaps better wrought, as being moſt encouraged. Of the ſame humour are their Gallants, and ſuch as they can influence; and moſt others. Our ordinary People, eſpecially the Female, will be in Silk more or leſs, if they can; though never ſo plain, ſtained or tattered: Whence hath followed a vaſtly *greater Importation, and home-Conſumption of the dear Silk-Manufactures* from *Venice, Florence, Genoa, France*, and *Perſia*, and of late from *Holland*; where they have improved their Silk

Manufacture

Manufacture to a conſiderable bulk and perfection. This our Affectation and Uſe of foreign Silks having apparently much increaſed, within about Twenty or Thirty years paſt, muſt produce a great Odds in the Ballance, and beſides hath much contracted the *home-vent* of our *Woollen Stuffs and Cloths*, and *Beggered our own Silk-Weavers*. And it may be here taken notice of, as one of the miſchievous Conſequences of our preſent *Importing Trade*, That our Merchants to preſerve their *only* home-Market, muſt bring in ſuch curious and ſerviceable Foreign Manufactures as will beat out our own. This Importing Trade agrees well with our Shop-keepers, who can get more by Foreign Commodities, (of which, few or none know the Prices but themſelves, and the Merchants.)

We have alſo of late a very chargeable *Importation of Laces* from *Venice* and *Genoa*, but moſt of later years from *France*, all which are commonly called *Points de Venice*, amounting to a vaſt Sum yearly.

Of All others our late *Overballance* in the *French Trade*, hath been moſt Prodigious; and ſuch

ſuch have been the Arts to attain it, that it would require a particular Treatiſe by it ſelf: But it will be neceſſary to what I have undertaken, to give ſome brief Accompt of it, and in what it did conſiſt; and the rather, that ſomething of the Variety of the *French* Exportable Manufactures and other Goods may Appear. I ſhall begin with what Mr. *Fortrey* reports in his Book twice Printed, and Dedicated to his *now Majeſty*, and therefore I preſume of good Authority.

In *Anno* (63) and (73)

He tells us, That upon a Jealouſie the *French King* had conceived of the Ballance of the *Engliſh* Trade, there was an Eſtimate thereof given in to the *French King*; whereby it appeared, that there was yearly Exported of *French* Goods by the *Engliſh*, to the value of 2500000 l. *Viz.*

1. In Velvets plain and wrought, Sattins plain and wrought, Cloth of God and Silver, Armoſynes and other Merchandizes of Silk which are made at *Lions*, of a great value.

2. In Silk-Stuffs, Taffeties, Poudeſoys, Armoſyns, Clothes of Gold and Silver, Tabbies plain and wrought, Silk Ribbands and other ſuch like Silk-Stuffs as are made at *Tours*.

3. In Silk Ribbands, Galloons, Laces, and Buttons of Silk, which are made at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Chaimant*, *S. Eſlieres* in *Foreſts*.

4. A

4. A great quantity of Serges, which are made at *Chalons*, *Chartres*, *Eſtammes*, and *Rhemes*; and great quantities of Serges made at *Amiens*, *Crevecoeur*, *Blicourt*, and other Towns in *Picardy*.

5. In Bever, Demicaſter, and Felt-Hats, made in the City and Suburbs of *Paris*, beſides many others made at *Rouen*, *Lyons*, and other places.

6. In Feathers, Belts, Girdles, Hatbands, Fans, Hoods, Masks, gilt and wrought Looking-Glaſſes, Cabinets, Watches, Pictures, Caſes, Medals, Tablets, Bracelets, and other ſuch like Ware.

7. In Pins, Needles, Box-Combs, Tortoiſe-ſhell-Combs, and ſuch like.

8. In Perfumed and Trimmed Gloves, that are made at *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Clendoſme*, *Clermont*, and other places.

9. In Papers of all ſorts which are made at *Auvergne*, *Poictou*, *Limoſin*, *Champaigne*, and *Normandy*.

10. In all ſorts of Ironmongers Wares that are made in *Forreſts*, *Auvergne*, and other places.

11. In Linnen Cloth that is made in *Brittany*, and *Normandy*, as well Courſe as Fine.

12. In Houſhold-ſtuff, conſiſting of Beds, Matreſſes, Coverlids, Hangings, Fringes of Silk, and other Furniture.

13. In

13. In Wines from *Gaſcoigne*, *Mantois*, and other places on the River of *Loyer*, and alſo from *Burdeaux*, *Rochel*, *Nante*, *Rouen*, and other places.

14. In Aqua-vitæ, Cyder, Vinegar, Verjuiſe, and ſuch like.

15. In Saffron, Caſtle-Soap, Honey, Almonds, Olives, Capers, Prunes, and ſuch like.

16. Beſides 5 or 600 Veſſels of Salt loaden at *Maron*, *Rochel*, *Bovage*, and the Iſle of *Oleron*, and Iſle of *Rhee*.

But that the Commodities *Imported* out of *England* into *France*, conſiſting chiefly of Woollen Cloathes, Serges, Knit Stockings, Lead, Pewter, Allom, Coals, and all elſe did not amount to above a Million yearly, which left the overballance 1600000 l.

'Tis true, that ſince this there was an Eſtimate of the *French* Overballance taken in *England* by ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, from the Entries of the Port of *London*, by which it was computed, that the *French* Overballance amounted to about a Million; This was preſented by our Merchants to our Lords Commiſſioners upon a Treaty of Commerce with *France* in (74.) (which came to no concluſion) and afterwards to the *Parliament*; which ſeems to impeach the Eſtimate of the *French* Overballance reported by Mr. *Fortrey*, as to the *Quantum*.

This

This I need not contend, ſince if the *French* Overballance had been no more than a Million, it was enough to impoveriſh us, conſidering our Importations from other Forreign Nations; But that I may not totally deſert Mr. *Fortrey*, I ſhall take notice, that this *Engliſh* Computation was taken from the Entries of the Port of *London* only, from whence there may not be any ſo Juſt a calculation for all the reſt of our Ports; and that the Entries do not comprehend any of thoſe *French* Commodities which were prohibited by our former Laws, and are therefore Imported without Entry, which are accompted to amount to ſome Hundreds of thouſand pounds yearly, perhaps near to another Million. But on the other ſide, that the *French* Entries muſt be certain as to the Exportations from *France*; that Mr. *Fortrey* would not be willing to falſify with *His Majeſtie* of *England*, nor the *French* Miniſters with the *French King*, in a matter ſo important.

Nor is it to be thought that our Importations from *France* decreaſed in quantity or value ſince Mr. *Fortrey* wrote, to the time of the Prohibition, but rather increaſed; whereof our Merchants then gave an inſtance in *Wines and Brandies*, from the Entries of the Port of *London*, as followeth:

'From *Mich.* 1663. to *Mich.* 1664. There 'was Imported into the Port of *London* 6828

'Tuns

'Tuns of French Wine, and then the quantity 'of Brandy was ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, 'that it deſerves not to be noted.

'From *Mich.* (67) to *Mich.* (69) There was 'Imported into the Port of *London* in the ſaid 'two years, 17000 Tuns of French Wine, and 'of Brandy about 3000 Tun.

'From *Mich.* (72) to *Mich.* (74) Was Im-'ported into the Port of *London* 22500 Tuns 'of French Wine.

'From *Mich.* (71) to *Mich.* (73) Was Im-'ported to *London* 7315 Tuns of Brandy.

'From *Mich.* (73) to *Mich.* (74) Was Im-'ported to *London*, as near as can be computed '5000 Tuns of Brandy, and every Tun of 'Brandy conſuming about 5 Tuns of Wine, 'makes the quantity of 25000 Tuns of Wine.

This I the rather take notice of here, becauſe from hence it doth alſo appear, that the Additional Impoſitions on French Wines and Brandies by our Parliament in (67) did not make the Importation of them leſs tolerable or practicable than before, and therefore were only Impoſitions on the Engliſh Subject.

Nay, the *French* have been able to *raiſe* the Prices of *their Wines* and *Brandies* upon us, even ſince (67) as the ſame Merchants repreſented. For,

'In (67) Langoon Wine in *France* was not 'above 43 Crowns *per* Tun, clear aboard.

In

In *Anno* (68) the price was——47 Crowns.
In *Anno* (69) ——————54 Crowns.
In *Anno* (70) ——————52 Crowns.
In *Anno* (71) ——————55 Crowns.
In *Anno* (72) ——————50 Crowns.
In *Anno* (73) ——————56 Crowns.
In *Anno* (74) ——————70 Crowns.

'And all ſorts of Clarrets are riſen double the 'price, ſince the year (67).

So ſaid the Merchants in the year (74) and whoſoever will take the pains to look into the Cuſtom-Books, will find a mighty Increaſe of Imported French Wine and Brandy ſince (74) to the time of the Prohibition; and that, for ſeveral years laſt paſt, our Importation of French Linnen, Silks, and other Commodities, have alſo continually grown upon us, whereof we have an infallible Evidence in the continual Riſing of our Cuſtoms.

I have heard that the quantity of French Wines Imported in 1676. made about 36000 Tuns of Wine, and that about the years (50) (51) and (52) the quantity yearly Imported was about 3000 Tuns of Wine.

But on the other ſide, the *French Policies* have been as induſtrious to ſuppreſs our *Engliſh Trade*, upon which they have gradually impoſed more and more Taxes, and at laſt ſo great, that it amounts to a Prohibition; as may be Inſtanced in our Woollen Manufacture.

'In the year 1632, the Duty on an English 'Broad Cloth Imported into *France*, was '6 *Livres*.

'In *Anno* (44) it was raised to 9 *Livres*.

'In *Anno* (54) to 30 *Livres*.

'In *Anno* (64) to 40 *Livres*, and yet did the 'English continue to Export considerable 'quantities of our Woollen Cloathes into '*France*.

Mr. *Fortrey* first Printed his Book in *(63)*

'But in *Anno* (67) being after Mr. *For-* 'trey wrote, it was raised to '80 *Livres*, which is about '50 *per Cent*.

'A piece of Serge in *Anno* (32) *per* 1 *Livre*.

'In *Anno* (54) 5 *Livres*.

'In (64) 6 *Livres*.

'In (67) 12 *Livres*, which also amounting to about 50 *per Cent*. was equal or worse than an expres Prohibition; so that all our Exportations of our home-Commodities to *France* in the year 1669. amounted but to 171021 *l*. 6. *s*. as it was Calculated from our own Entries (if my Copy be true.)

It will not be a Digression to shew how Industrious the *French* Policies have been to suppres our Trade to other Nations.

It

It is now about five years ſince that our Merchants, obſerving the *Dutch* & other Neighbour Nations to be in War, but ours in Peace; they had now golden hopes of driving a mightier Forreign Trade than ever; for which purpoſe they thought it convenient to buy many *Dutch-built* Ships, and ſomwhat the rather becauſe they had loſt many Ships in the late War: But the Act of Navigation ſtanding in their way, they obtained His Majeſties Licenſe for it.

Mr. *Mun* of Forreign Trade *pag.* 149. Notes, 'That all the great Loſſes 'we receive at Sea in our 'Shipping, either out-'ward or homeward 'bound, ought to be 'conſidered in the Bal-'lance; for the value 'of the one is to be 'Deducted from our Ex-'portations; and the va-'lue of the other from 'our Importations.

But thereupon, there preſently came out a *French Edict* for the ſeizing of all *Ships bought in any Enemie's Country*, which did diſcourage many of our Merchants from buying any Ships, yet many were bought and eſcaped ſafe to our Ports; theſe and many *Engliſh* Ships our Merchants forthwith freighted and ſent out, in proſpect of a ſwelling Trade, and vaſt Returns of Treaſure.

But immediately there came out ſwarms of *French Capers*, who ſeized on thoſe Dutch-built Ships, though they had all neceſſary Paſſes; and from thence, finding the ſweetneſs of it, they fell to taking of our *Engliſh built Ships*,

on pretence they carried Enemies Goods, whereof they themſelves would be the Judges, and did actually ſeize all ſorts of *Engliſh* built Ships, laden meerly on the account of *Engliſh* Merchants, they took meer *Engliſh Coaſters*; nay, they *retook* many of our Ships which had been actually *diſcharged* in *France*; they plunder'd our Ships, and grievouſly beat and wounded our generous Seamen (who never before dream't of any thing but the Sovereignty of the Sea) and killed many.

Then were our Ships carried into the *French* Ports, and our Merchants put to prove the property of their own Ships and Goods before *French Judges*, in the new erected *French* Admiralties, by a long and tedious proceeding; by which, and alſo in the *French* Court, and by the *Treachery of their own Agents*, they were put to vaſt Expences.

There were about 400 Sail of our Merchants Ships ſeized in this manner, many of which the *French* thought fit abſolutely to condemn; and ſuch as were releaſed were kept, ſome three Months, ſome ſix Months, ſome twelve Months, and ſome longer, and then were Diſcharged with great Damage, by Plunder and Expence in *France*, beſides the firſt Violences; and after all, loſt the intended Fruit of their Voyages, of which, doubtleſs the *French* were very ſenſible: And what is yet worſe, the *French King* making the utmoſt advantages of every

every thing, got Thouſands of our Seamen by extraordinary Pay, to engage in his Service, to which he doth ſtill indear them by Money, and all imaginable encouragements.

All which being done in times of Peace, could only be intended to impoveriſh and diſable our Merchants Trade and Nation, notwithſtanding their pretence of carrying Enemies Goods; this is evident as well from the *ſaid Edict*, and from the Nature of the whole Tranſaction, as by another *Edict* ſet forth by the *French* King about the ſame time, giving Liberty of Trade to any Nation (without exception) that would take *French* Paſſes; for it being foreſeen that the *Engliſh* would not take any, becauſe of the *Engliſh* Claim to the *Sovereignty of the Seas*, it left other Nations then at enmity with *France*, at Liberty to take Paſſes, and by Conſequence to Trade; who accordingly did, and traded without controul, particularly the *Dutch*: So did the *Swediſh* Ships at the ſame time openly Trade *to and from Holland*, and other Countries then at *enmity with France*; without any Diſturbance from the *French* Capers.

This might adminiſter further Conſiderations; I ſhall only at preſent accommodate it to the Matter in queſtion, being the *Overballance of Trade*; which muſt needs have been the higher upon us, as our Merchants

received more Injuries and Loſſes of this Nature.

To this I ſhall add, that it is an incredible Sum of Money which our Engliſh *Gentlemen and Travellers* of all ſorts ſpend yearly in *France*, to learn unprofitable Apiſh affected *French* Faſhions, and Modes in their Carriage, Talk, Cloaths, Eating and Drinking. It is below any of theſe *Engliſh Mounſieurs* to enquire into the *Trade* of *France*; This Expence is not near ballanced by the Expence of the *French* Travelling Gentry, or others in *England*; the *French* that come hither, being ordinarily ſuch as come to *get Eſtates* by vending *French* Manufactures, Wines and other Commodities, Dancing, Cookery, &c. and when they are grown Rich, do generally Tranſport themſelves, and their Eſtates into *France*, and ſo Spirit away our Wealth.

Here may be added the vaſt Sums and Riches which already are, and Annually will be Tranſported by Papiſts to *France*, and other Parts; but principally to *France*.

Many of theſe Loſſes by the *French*, being not compriſed in the former inſtances, require a further ample Valuation.

I believe other inſtances may be given of the late Increaſe of our Importations, our National Luxury and folly being ſuch, that our Merchants find

find a home-Vent for almoſt all ſorts of Foreign Goods and trifles in the Univerſe: Theſe I leave to be added by the obſervation of others.

In the mean time, conſidering what the utmoſt gain of our Trade might be, during the 76 years mentioned in the Accompt from the Mint, it muſt be evident from what I have already ſaid, that we have been *Overballanced* many 100000 *l. per Annum*, of later years. The Particulars I have mentioned in this, and the laſt Section, being ſuch as have happened, or worked more ſignally and vigorouſly upon us during the years mentioned in the ſaid Accompt; which (that I may prevent Alterations) I ſhall endeavour to clear, by a brief *Deduction* of our Trade during the ſame 76 years, which I cannot do without ſome Relation to the *French* and *Dutch* Trades; of whoſe *Riſe* and *Growth*, and their Conſequential Increaſe of *Strength* and *Power*, I ſhall therefore alſo give ſome Accompt.

I ſhall begin with that of the *Engliſh*:

Before the *Dutch* were cemented into States, the *Engliſh* had far greater Advantages in Trade than any Neighbour Nation, by *the greater Plenty of our more excellent Oak-Timber, Victuals, Numbers of Seamen, home-Materials of Manufacture, our great Woollen-Manufactures, our Fiſhery, and other our valuable*

Commodities mentioned before: Beſides the *German*, *Flemiſh*, and *French* Trades. That of the *Sound*, and *Streights*, our Adventurous Merchants and Mariners in *Edw.* the Sixth's time Diſcovered the North-Eaſt Paſſage by Sea to *Muſcovy*, which Trade was before driven by the Merchants of the *Hans-Towns* a-croſs the *Baltick*: Such was our good ſucceſs, that by the great Commerce our Merchants brought, and by the Embaſſies and Applications of our ſucceeding Princes, eſpecially Queen *Elizabeth*, the *Czar* granted them a *Free Trade* at his Port *Archangel*, (that is) without paying any *Impoſt*; which he would not grant to others: whereby the *Engliſh* became poſſeſſed of the whole Trade of a great Advantage; beſides which, our Woollen-Manufactures were not a little improved in Bulk and Value, by means of thoſe *Flemmings* or *Walloons* driven out by the Duke of *Alva*, and entertained by Queen *Elizabeth*; ſpoken of before.

In this Condition was our Trade when the *Dutch* United Provinces came to a Settlement, being about 90 Years ſince; the *Dutch* hereupon found themſelves obliged to ſtudy all Imaginable wayes of Gain by Trade; For the People driven into theſe Provinces by the *Spaniſh Tyranny and Perſecution for Religion*, were very *Numerous*, the Countrey very *narrow*, and yielding little of the *Neceſſaries of life*, and

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the Long and Continual Charge of their War with *Spain* very great; from which *Neceſſity* followed much *Contrivance* and *Induſtry*, and thence thoſe *Arts and eaſie Methods of Trade* which have wrought ſo great Changes in moſt Parts of *Europe*, if not throughout the World.

Firſt there followed theſe Alterations in the *Trade* of *Europe*; the *Dutch* fell into a mighty Trade or Employment of *carrying and dealing from Port to Port*, far beyond what was ever uſed in theſe Parts before; which Trade they engroſſed, beating out the *Antwerpians*, *Engliſh*, and all others, Except in what related to *Muſcovy*, (ſecured to the *Engliſh* by our Privileges there) and what related to *Spain* during their Wars with that Crown; the *Portugueſe*, having before found out the way by Sea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having by that cheaper paſſage beat the *Venetians* out of that Trade, and planted mighty Factories and Forces in the *Indies*; the *Dutch* before, the Year 1600, being informed of the Riches of that Commerce by one *Cornelius Houtman* a Fugitive from the *Portugueſe*, engaged in a Trade thither, and in the Year 1602, by the Authority of their Union, eſtabliſhed their *Eaſt-India* Company; who upon their original Fund, being 600000 l. *Sterling*, made ſo great a progreſs in that Trade, that beſides ſeveral Conſiderable Dividends before made, upon a Com-

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pute in the Year 1608, their Stock was increaſed to Three *Millions Sterling*: and in this great Carriere very ſpeedily ſupplanted the *Portugueſe* in this Trade; their ſucceſs was little leſs in the Fiſhing Trade for *White Herrings*, *Ling and Codfiſh* on the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, which they extended beyond what we ever did, incroaching daily on the *Engliſh*, being enabled thereto by their more eaſie Methods of Trade; and the *Engliſh* the more diſabled by our Application to the Plantation-Trade in the time of King *James*, whereof the Wiſe Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by the *occaſion* of his Travels, taking notice, about 60 years ſince gave a Caution of it to King *James*, ſhewing the Reaſons, and proving that the *Dutch* then got 1372000 l. *per Annum* Sterling by this Trade, by the Accompts he took at ſeveral Ports, (and yet he mentions not their Trade in the *Streights*, and but one Port in *France*, viz. *Roan*:) notwithſtanding which, the *Dutch* ſtill getting advantages upon us, had near beaten us out before the end of King *James* his Reign; and ſoon after became Compleat Maſters of it.

Thus was this our *Fiſhing-Trade*, of great and certain Profit, and of high Importance for the Support of our Navigation and Coaſts, ſupplanted; in the place of this, we had our *Plantation-Trade*, of which having ſpoken ſo much before,

before, I ſhall ſay no more, than that it brought *in great Cuſtomes*: Yet, not forgetting, that *King James* ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, (who to reduce the late portentous greatneſs of the *Auſtrian* Family, had ſupported the *Dutch*) made a Peace *with Spain*, which gave the *Engliſh* a particular Advantage in the Trade of *Spain* for a time, *viz.* till the *Dutch* made a Peace with that Crown; and ſince that hath continued a very beneficial Market for many of our Commodities, being there vended for ready-money: Our Trade to *Muſcovy* remained ſecured to us by our Privilege there, and our Clothing Trade by our Wooll, and the ignorance of other Nations in that Manufacture. We had a remaining Fiſhery at *Groenland*, *Iſeland*, and *Newfoundland*; we continued ſome other Exports of leſſer Note mentioned before; but the Woollen-Manufacture being our chief Jewel, we kept the Monopoly of it during the Reign of *King James*, and for the greateſt part of the Reign of *King Charles* the Firſt, and generally raiſed the prices; by all which, and for that our *Imports* were leſs than of late they have been, the Ballance of our Trade, during the Reigns of theſe Princes, was kept up to the degree, we may Compute it by the Accompt from the Mint, which though ſomewhat, was but a *narrow ſcantling*, conſidering how prodigiouſly the *French* and *Dutch* Trades were impro-

improved and grew up *by us* continually; yet have we ſince loſt, or much Impaired all theſe principal Advantages in Trade, as I have already ſhewn.

Before I ſhew how theſe Limbs of our Trade became ſo much diſabled, it will be neceſſary to obſerve *what Influence* the *Dutch Trade* had upon the *French*.

All the *Exportable Commodities* of any Note the *French* formerly, and till this laſt Age pretended to, were *Corn, Wine*, and *Salt*: whereof that of Corn was as Conſiderable as any; the other two being but ſparingly Exported, at leaſt in Compariſon of what have been Vended of late Years: beſides theſe, they had *Skins, Tallow, and Woad*, and ſome Fruits of little Conſequence; which whole Trade could bring in no great matter.

But the *Dutch* being ravenous after Trade, and like Bees thruſting themſelves into every Creek and Corner for Commodities to ſell again, and barter away for Profit, preſently gave a far mightier Vent to the *French Wines*, with which they not only plentifully ſupplyed moſt other Nations, but drank good ſtore themſelves, being their principal Home-*Conſumption*; of *Salt* they took off yet greater quantities, not only for preſent Merchandize, but to uſe in their prodigious Fiſhery. As the Vent of theſe grew greater, more were provid-

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ed in *France*; hence alſo did their *Infant*-Manufactures of Linnen, Silk, Paper, Brandy, and thoſe Numbers of others enumerated by Mr. *Fortrey*, and doubtleſs many more, grow up to *Gyants*; the hungry *French* taſting the ſweet of the Gain, did not fail to ſupply this buſie People, though doubtleſs not without the Conduct of an extraordinary Wiſdom; Since 'tis apparent, that the *Dutch* manner of Trading made the ſame Overtures to other Neighbour Nations; the wiſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* obſerved how free and eaſie they had made their Commerce by lowering their Cuſtomes and Duties; they let in the *French* Proteſtants by a Toleration, and carefully Superintended the Increaſe of their Manufactures. Thus as the *French* Shop came to have more things of *Delicacy and Variety*, it drew in more Cuſtomers, and the *Engliſh* amongſt the reſt; and as a great part of Trade is driven in *Fantaſtical Dreſſes*, and Toys of many ſorts, the *French* took care to provide an Abundance, with which they *gulled* the reſt of the World: Hence were their *Princes* at firſt called *Faſhion-mongers*; but they did not reſt there, they ſoon became *Portentous Tradeſmen* in the moſt ſolid and valuable Commodities in the World, and thence *Lord Mayors* of the Continent; doubtleſs the preſent *French King* thinks it his high Concern, and

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and

and values himſelf upon it, of which we have an Evidence in his nice and early looking into his great *Shop-Books* or Entries, to find out the *Ballance* of his Trade with *England*, and by making his Shop *eaſie* in the Approach, *viz.* by his increaſing his *free Ports*, (for in truth, it would be a very ſtrange Project of Gain, for a Tradeſman to ſet a Toll on every man that comes in at his Door) the ſame appears by an hundred other inſtances.

Thus have the *Dutch* in a *blind* purſuit of their particular Intereſts, built up a *Prodigie of Power*, which (having of late propagated a great Navigation of its own, as I ſhall more particularly ſhew) is now ſo ſwelling, and of ſo *Serpentine* a Nature, that it is ready to devour thoſe who firſt gave it life.

The yearly value of the late and preſent *Exports* from *France*, may be computed by what the *Engliſh* only took off, which ſuppoſing to be more moderate than Mr. *Fortrey* Reports, (which yet I do not admit) *viz.* but *two Millions Sterling*, what a vaſt yearly Sum muſt it amount to? Since there is great reaſon to think, and I ſpeak upon the beſt Authority I can meet with, that the *Dutch* have taken off *ſeven or eight times* more yearly than the *Engliſh*; For beſides the mighty quantities of *Salt*, *Wine*, *and Brandy* which they themſelves Conſume, they Export vaſtly more of

theſe,

theſe, and *All other French Commodities* to other Nations; the *French* Trade being indeed the *principal Foundation* of moſt of the ordinary *Dutch* Trade *from Port to Port.*

Beſides the *Dutch*, the *Hamburghers, Lubeckers, Swedes, Danes*, and moſt or all other Mercantile Nations in this Part of the World, do yearly Freight themſelves at the *French* Ports, (which muſt be one reaſon, and perhaps *as yet* the principal, why the *French Language* is become ſo *Univerſal:*) whileſt the *French* take very little Conſumptive Commodity from theſe, nor yet from the *Dutch* or *Engliſh*, but *Eaſt-India* Spice, Callicoes, *&c.* a Trade which the *French* King hath alſo manifeſtly deſigned to engage in, by an Aſſociation and Contribution of Stock in *France*, and his Attempts to get footing in divers places of the *Eaſt-Indies*; ſome time will ſhew what his Succeſs may be, or whether *at a Lump*, he hopes to Unite the *Dutch* Trade and Strengths in thoſe Parts to himſelf, by an Union of the *Dutch* Provinces and their Navigation to his preſent Empire; and whether then our *Engliſh* Factories there, will be able to preſerve themſelves againſt daily Violations, and utter Extirpation. In the mean time upon what hath been ſaid, let the Reader compute, how many Millions Sterling muſt already yearly enter into *France*, by the Annual Vent of ſo

Prodigious

Prodigious a Store of Commodities; it muſt be much the better part of *Twenty Millions*. I find it affirmed by a ſmall Piece lately Printed, Intituled, *An Accompt of the* French *Uſurpations upon* England; which ſeems Written by a man of good Judgment, That from the Northern Countries only, the *French Wines* now bring in 25 Millions of *Florens*; their *Salt*, 10 Millions of *Florens*; *Brandy*, 5 Millions; their Silks, Stuffs, Toyes, and Fripperies, 40 Millions of *Florens* more. What then do the *French* receive from all the other Regions of the World, for theſe, and other things?

All which hath been viſible in the *gradual Increaſe* of the *French Power*, from the time the *Dutch* Provinces began to Trade. It muſt be admitted that both before and ſince the *French* Monarchy became Abſolute (this being a great and populous Nation) was able to bring Conſiderable Armies into the Field; but they could get little or no ground by Arms on any of their Neighbours, or ſoon loſt what they got: The People were abject and recreant; and more the Ridicule, than the terror of their Neighbours, the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Treaſures and Strengths were notoriouſly too big for them; the *Engliſh* Conquered them ſeveral times; the *Spaniards* more lately beat them out of *Navarre*, *Naples*, and *Millan*, and by their Faction in *France*, drove *Henry* the 3d. out

out of *Paris*, and moſt of his other beſt Cities, and afterwards not above 80 years ſince ſupported the *Holy League* with Arms and Money againſt *Henry* the 4th, under the Conduct of the *Duke* of *Mayence*; both which Princes fell by the hands of *Prieſts*; for the *Spaniards* were then the *ſtrongeſt ſide*. This Superiority of the *Spaniſh* Power, made all the Kings of *France* from *Charles the 8th*, to *Lewis the 13th inclusive*, glad to ſeek a Support from the *Engliſh*; and the more to endear themſelves, got to be *Knights* of the *Garter* (except *Francis the 2d.* a King of one year, and no more) theſe were, *Lewis the 12th*, *Francis the 1ſt*, *Henry the 2d*, *Charles the 9th*, and the ſaid *Henry the 3d*, and the *4th*; if we go higher to *Lewis the 11th*, who next preceded *Charles the 8th*, we may Compute his Treaſure and Grandure by a Reckoning found in the Chamber of Accompts at *Paris*, *of 2 s. for new Sleeves to his old Doublet, and three Half-pence for Liquor to greaſe his Boots*; 'Tis like he was the poorer, becauſe he and the reſt paid a kind of *Tribute* of 50000 Crowns *per Annum* to the King of *England* for 100 years together; before this, they were almoſt continually waſted by the *Engliſh*, till our *Diſſentions at home* called our Forces away, leaving *Charles the 7th*, Predeceſſor of this *Lewis the 11th*, to take Poſſeſſion of what he pleaſed, except *Calais*.

Heylin's Geogr. 236.

But ſoon after the *French* Ports were frequented by the *Dutch* Navigation, we find the State of *France* begin to alter; the ſaid *Henry* the 4*th*, having reduced the Holy League, grew a *Mighty Prince*, added *la Breſſe*, *Bearne*, and *Baſe Navarre* to the Crown, and enjoyed a 10 years Peace, though at laſt Murthered. *Lewis* the 13*th*. was yet more powerful; beſides the *Reduction of the Huguenots*, and of above 300 *Walled Towns* then in their hands, he added or reveſted to that Crown, the Dukedoms of *Barre*, and *Lorrain*, and other acqueſts in *Germany*, *Italy*, the *Belgick Provinces*, and other parts of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; in which, and in *Italy*, he was able at once to maintain *five Royal Armies in the Field*; keeping no leſs than 120000 Men in Pay and Action for many years together, beſides his Garriſons; and yet is the Power of *France* ſince vaſtly increaſed, whereof every man is or has reaſon to be ſenſible. I ſhall refer the particular Conſideration of it till the laſt Section.

He began his Reign in the year 1589. and Reigned till 1610.

Next *Lewis* 13*th*, who died 1642. and ſince, the preſent *Lewis* the 14*th*.

In the mean time, I ſhall only add what I find in Dr. *Heylin*'s Book of *Geography*, p. 238, (who being to give an Accompt of the Revenue of that Countrey) tells us, That *Lewis* 'the 11*th*, gathered one Million, and an half of

'Crowns,

'Crowns, *Francis* the 1*ſt.* brought them to 'three Millions; his Succeſſor *Henry* the 2*d.* to 'ſix; *Charles* the 9*th.* to ſeven; *Henry* the 3*d.* 'to ten; *Henry* the 4*th.* from two to five Mil-'lions, Sterling. This he attributes meerly to the more *Deſpotical Power*, and greater Tyranny of the later Princes; and might be ſo in ſome meaſure: For in the time of *Charles* the 7*th.* whilſt in War with the *Engliſh*, there was an Act by the Three *French* Eſtates, that the King might raiſe Money in caſe of Neceſſity; which Power, 'tis likely was not at firſt uſed ſo moderately as it was after: However we cannot think *Henry* the 4*th.* could *leap* from two Millions to five Millions Sterling, without a great Importation of Treaſure, which does not grow on the Peoples backs like Wooll; the advance of the *French* Trade and Treaſure, being the true Reaſon, we may believe the Revenue of *Lewis* the 13*th.* was raiſed to more than double this, *viz.* Ten Millions Sterling; and that ſince it is doubled again, *viz.* Twenty Millions, (as good Judges of it as I can meet with ſay, 'tis now above Twenty Millions Sterling) For the Treaſures of the World being drawn into *France*, as into a *Gulf*, muſt anſwerably advance that King's Revenue, and diminiſh the Treaſures of other Nations; which 'tis probable is partly the Cauſe that the Price of moſt Commodities in *Europe* are ſunk; ſince

according to the former Maxims, if there be leſs Money in the hands of other Trading Nations than before, they muſt and will buy for leſs.

Having thus far purſued the Growth of the *French Trade*, and *Power*; I ſhall now return to the *Engliſh*, as they were inveſted with the ſeveral Trades before mentioned in the time of our two laſt Kings, *viz.* King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt, and ſhall endeavour to ſhew, Firſt, how we come to loſe the Monopoly of the *Woollen Manufacture*; which was the Effect of many Concurring Cauſes; the *Dutch* were generally vigilant after all Trade, and particularly this, ſo much they ſhared with us long before, that they Dyed, Dreſſed, and Vended vaſt quantities of our white Cloaths Exported thither, by which they made an incredible Gain. Sir *Walter Raleigh* about 60 years ſince, in his Obſervations on Trade preſented to King *James*, proves, *England* in 55 years, had loſt 55 Millions of Pounds by the *Dutch* Dyeing and Dreſſing our white Cloaths; But withal, the *Dutch* by their vaſt Navigation and Univerſal Trading, gave them a greater *vent* than we otherwiſe could do, unleſs by an equal Regulation of our Trade, the *Engliſh* had been made as Capable; without any thing of that, this courſe was taken; one Sir *William Kokayne*, and other Merchants, hoping to make

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an advantage to *themſelves*, got a *Patent* for the Dyeing and Dreſſing of our Cloaths, with Power to hinder the Exportation of our white Cloaths; wherein we have our two uſual Expedients in Trade, *viz.* a *Reſtraint to a Company*, and a *Prohibition*; by which our Vent was leſſened, and the *Dutch* the more provoked to attempt this Manufacture at home; to which they had great encouragement by their *Situation* for the Trade of *Germany*; and the rather becauſe our *Hamburgh Company*, who by their Patent have the ſole Trade on that Coaſt, for about ſix or ſeven hundred Miles, kept but two Staples, *viz.* at *Hamburgh* and *Dort*, remote from each other, and from many of thoſe Countries which they ſupplied: So as many of thoſe who come to our Markets, muſt paſs and repaſs, through ſeveral Principalities with much Danger, and Payments of Tolls and Taxes; and beſides, we raiſed our Prices, and ſet ſuch terms on the Buyers, that others as well as the *Dutch*, were much *diſaffected*; whereupon an Opportunity was offered: For about the year 1636. Two hundred Families of our Manufacturers being about to forſake *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and Tranſport themſelves to our Plantations, *by reaſon of the then Perſecution of Diſſenters*, the *Dutch* invited them into *Holland*, where the *Dutch* did not only entertain them, but in *Leyden*, *Alkmaer*, and

other places, planted them Rent-free, and Exciſe-free, ſeven years. After theſe went more and more *Colonies*, which ſetled at *Rotterdam*, *Middleburgh*, and *Fluſhing*, where a fourth part of the Inhabitants are *Engliſh*, or of *Engliſh* Extraction: Beſides vaſt numbers of *Engliſh* diſperſed elſewhere in thoſe Provinces.

The *Dutch* having gotten the Manufacturers, had half done their work; they wanted nothing but *Wool*, which if they might have on any tolerable Terms, their Advantages in the way of Trade, muſt enable them to out-doe us, this they Imported from *Spain*, *England*, and *Ireland*, and elſewhere, falling amain upon the Woollen Manufactures of all ſorts; ſo that about the year 1640. they pretended to ſomething of a Cloth Trade in *Germany*, and ſoon afterwards took occaſion to ſupply our *Eaſtland and Northern* Markets more and more; eſpecially with *fine Cloth*; getting ground upon us continually, they bought our Woolls dearer at firſt, but have gradually ſunk the Prices; our Vigilant Neighbours, *the French*, ſtarted with them, or ſoon followed their Example, as did the *Flemmings*, the *Sileſians*, *Polanders*, and ſome others mentioned before; by all which, theſe and other Parts of the World were as much ſupplied with coarſe *Cloths*, *Druggets*, *and Stuffs*; but the *Dutch* would not reſt here; Trade was their buſineſs, and they obſerved,

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the virtue of ours (ſuch as we had) depended wholly on *Accidents*, and particularly that of *Muſcovy* on our *Privilege*; which therefore they found ways to evacuate, by beſtowing Money amongſt the Grandees of that Court, and furniſhing them with an Objection againſt our Merchants, as being *Londoners*, and therefore (as they inſinuated) muſt be concerned as Actors in the *horrid* Murther of His late *Sacred Majeſty*, which it was in vain for our Merchants to diſpute, when the Judges were Fee'd on the other ſide; this powerful Metal (whereof the *Dutch* are never ſparing on ſuch occaſions, and therein have a farther advantage upon us) had ſo radicated their Intereſts with the *Boyars*, that notwithſtanding all Applications in an Honourable Embaſſy to the *Great Czar* from his *now Sacred Majeſty*, by the *Earl of Carliſle*, our Privilege could never be regained.

Soon after this, there followed two things convenient to be taken notice of for the prevention of miſapprehenſions on either ſide; one was, that between the year (50) and (60) we had an Accidental Opportunity of increaſing our Treaſure with the loſs of our People, *viz.* by the Stocking *Ireland* with Inhabitants, and Cattle, after the Reduction of the *Iriſh* Rebels, and by furniſhing it with all ſorts of Goods and Neceſſaries, then much conſumed or ſpoiled by the Wars and Diſorders there;

which on a ſudden, brought us almoſt all the Treaſures of *Ireland*; which ſuppoſing but a Million and an half, or but a Million, was conſiderable.

Another, which prevented us of as much Money as we thus got, if not of more, and doubtleſs exhauſted us of ſome; In the year 1654. the late Uſurper *Oliver Cromwell* (whoſe guilty fears made him Jealous of the *Engliſh*, and ſeek a ſupport from *France*) did in Conjunction with *France* make a fatal War upon *Spain*; which, beſides the ſeiſure of our *Spaniſh* effects, and our vaſt Loſſes at Sea in that War, interrupted our Trade *with Spain*, and gave the *Dutch* better footing, but *opened* our *French Trade*; at once weakning the Ballance of our Trade, and the *Ballance of all* Europe.

Thus it was before the year 1660. But in regard our Imports were then of far leſs quantity and value than they were after, 'tis preſumeable that our Trade might be yet beneficial, eſpecially conſidering our then *Iriſh* Trade; but our Importations increaſing, we find what Mr. *Mun*, a *Principal Engliſh Merchant* thought of it, by what he ſaith in his Book of Trade, Printed in (63.) But, as appears by the Preface, was Written ſome time before; the words are theſe, "The whole Trade of the Realm for Exporta-

Pag. 61.

"tions

"tions and Importations "is now found to be about "the yearly value of four "Millions and a half of "Pounds; It may be "yet increaſed 200000 *l.* "more by the Importa-"tions and Conſumption of Foreign Wares, "by this means we know the King ſhall be a "Gainer near 20000 *l.* (*viz.* by the Cuſtoms;) "but the Common-wealth would loſe the "whole 200000 *l.* and the King ſhall be ſure "in the end to have the greateſt loſs, if he do "not prevent ſuch unthrifty courſes as do im-"poveriſh his People. By which words, I take it as very plain, that before he wrote, our Exportations and Importations were computed to ſtand even; which is the more enforced by the latter words, *viz.* "That the Common-"wealth would loſe the whole 200000 *l.* the "People be impoveriſhed, and the King the greateſt loſer at laſt.

As for Mr. *Mun*'s propoſal to Export Money in Trade, I have ſpoken to it before; and beſides, he recommends the Reduction of the Cuſtoms, and eaſing of Trade, which (if fully done) it might be then convenient.

Then if we compute our Loſſes ſince (60), nay, or (63), *viz.* By the means of the Acts of Navigation, which (though firſt begun by the *Rump*, to the prejudice of Trade in their time) have been ſince made Laws, and continued to our greater and daily growing prejudice. } 000000

By

By all our direct and Consequential Losses from the *Irish* Acts mentioned before.

By the Loss or decay of our *Scotch* Trade.

By the Stop of our Exported Cloathing into *France*.

By the setting up of more Woollen Manufactures in *Portugal*, *Swedeland*, and the *Palatinate*, (to which last Countrey went some Thousands of our Manufacturers within less than Twenty years) and by the Increase of these, and of the *Silesian*, *Polonian*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Flemmish* Woollen Manufactures ever since, by which our Vent must be answerably Contracted.

By the continual sinking of the Forreign Price of our Cloathing.

By the decay of our *Iseland*, *Groenland*, and *Newfound-Land* Fishing-Trades.

By the sinking of the Foreign Price of our other Exports mentioned before.

And lastly, in a Lump by a continual vast Increase of our Importations of all Sorts and Species mentioned in this Section, with an Exportation

tation of Treaſure anſwerable to the Whole.

Our Overballance appears to me to be ſo much of late years, that it might be wondred how any of our late Treaſures could yet remain amongſt us, did we not alſo Conſider that our Trade by degrees, in length of time, had before the year (60) brought a great Treaſure into *England*, and that theſe our lateſt Prejudices and Loſſes have not been working upon us many years. But if the Overballance continue, it muſt ſoon ſweep away what remains; which Mr. *Fortrey* Prophetically foretold in theſe words:

"Hereby it may appear how inſenſibly our "Treaſures muſt be exhauſted, and our Nation "Beggared, whilſt we careleſly neglect our "own Intereſts, and Strangers abroad are dili- "gent to make their advantages upon us.

Sir *William Temple*, in his excellent Treatiſe of the *Dutch* does preſage the like.

Having laid it as a Ground, That "Whatever "the Exportation wants in value, "to Ballance, the Importation muſt "of neceſſity be made up with rea- "dy Money; he tells us, That by this we find "out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*, "as of their Trade, by Circumſtances already "rehearſed; for never any Countrey Traded ſo "much, and conſumed ſo little; they buy infi- "nitely, but 'tis to ſell again, either upon Im- "provement

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"provement of the Commodity (*viz.* by Manu-
"facture) or at a better Market: (*viz.* in the
"Trade from Port to Port).

"By all this Accompt of their Trade and
"Riches, it will appear that ſome of our Max-
"ims are not ſo certain, as they are Currant in
"our Common Politicks: As firſt, That the
"example and *encouragement of Exceſs and*
"*Luxury*, if employed in the Conſumption of
"Native Commodities, is of advantage to
"Trade; the Cuſtom or humour of Luxury,
"and Expence cannot ſtop at certain bounds;
"what begins in Native, will proceed in For-
"reign Commodities; and though the *example*
"*riſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation will*
"*run into all degrees*, even of thoſe, by *whoſe*
"*Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts*: and beſides, the
"more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall
"have to ſend abroad; *and ſo it will come to paſs*
"*that while we drive a vaſt Trade, yet by buy-*
"*ing much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to*
"*be poor.*

"Whereas, when we drive a very ſmal Traf-
"fick abroad, yet by ſelling ſo much more
"than we bought, we were very Rich in pro-
"portion to our Neighbours. This appeared
in *Edward* the Third's time, when he main-
tained ſo mighty Wars in *France*, and carried
our Victorious Arms into the heart of *Spain*,
Whereas in the 28*th* year of that King's Reign,
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the Value and Cuſtom of all our Exported Commodities, amounted to 294184 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* and that of our Imported, but 38970 *l.* 03 *s.* 06 *d*; ſo as there muſt have entred that year into the Kingdom, in Coin or Buſſion, or elſe have grown a Debt to the Nation, 255214 *l.* 13 *s.* 08 *d.* and yet we then carried out our Woolls unwrought, and brought in a great part of our Cloaths from *Flanders*.

Whence Two things may be remarked: Firſt, That 'tis much in vain to increaſe the value of our Exports, if at the ſame time we increaſe our Imports to a yet greater value, being now (perhaps) an 100 times more than value.

Secondly, That although *Edward* the Third, revived the Order of the *Round Table*, he did not perform his great Atchievements by the meer virtue of Knight Errantry; there is no doubt but our ſucceeding Princes were enabled to make their Conqueſts in *France*, by the advantages of our former Trade, then far more conſiderable than the *French*.

I ſhall only add, that this Conſumption by our Importations, will not be prevented, but rather augmented by our *late Prohibition of* French *Goods*; as I ſhall demonſtrate in the laſt Section.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

That a Conſiderable part of our late Treaſure is exhauſted: Application to our Publick and Private Revenues: Objections Anſwered, viz. *The Plenty of Money to be let on Securities, Stores of Money in* London, *Stocks in Merchandize, the Over-weightineſs of our Coin,* &c.

AFter what hath been ſaid, it may ſeem little requiſite to enquire whether Mr. *Fortrey* Propheſied a-right, when he foretold the Exhauſting of our Treaſure.

If the Diffuſive Body of the People be much Poorer than before, they have much leſs Treaſure than before; For Poverty is but the privation of Treaſure. Now if the Queſtion be whether the Nation be Poorer, it muſt be undeniable from all thoſe Badges of Poverty I have mentioned before, if any of thoſe particular Men who find themſelves *at eaſe*, are yet unwilling to believe it, they may be further convinced from the univerſal Cries of the People, (at leaſt from the Land-holders, remaining Manufacturers, and their Dependants who make up the groſs and ſtanch Body of the Nation) they remember when it was otherwiſe, when there

there was a far greater plenty of Money in all our inferiour Cities, Corporations, and Villages; when our Farmers had their Rents before hand, and had Stocks for every Farm; when they and our Manufacturers got Eſtates, and when vaſt Taxes could be readily raiſed; and therefore are the moſt proper Judges of the odds, who feel the preſent Scarcity, and want of Money; they cannot conſpire in a Falſity of this Nature, but in ſo general and near a Concern, The Voice of the People hath been taken to be like the *Speech of God.* Thoſe that find their Stocks waſted, or much Contracted, their late Revenues ſunk, their home-Commodities yield much leſs value, their labours in Manufactures turn to leſs Profit, or to none at all, the poor and their Maintenances vaſtly increaſed, the Nation involved in Debts, Money very hard to be gotten or raiſed in the way of home-Trade, with other Common hardſhips, cannot be argued out of their Senſes; *Crede quod habes & habes,* is no Logick in matters of Intereſt, but amongſt Fools and Madmen; or let Men be never ſo good at perſwading or believing, yet when their Eſtates and Stocks are thus ſunk, they cannot anſwer the Publick Emergencies by Payment of as great Taxes as before.

I ſhould not ſay more to prove our National Treaſure is much diminiſhed, (taking it to

to be indiſputable; and being ſenſible, that the over-labouring a Truth, may bring it in queſtion) but having ſomething to offer, by which (as it ſeems to me) ſome nearer Conjecture may be made of the Quantity of Money thus exhauſted, I ſhall preſent it to the Reader, deſiring his Excuſe, if he think it unneceſſary.

So great was the Quantity of our late *Harp and Croſs Money*, before the year (60) that according to the beſt Eſtimate I can make or meet with, it made about 10 or 15 *per Cent.* of our Common Money in tale in the *Countrey*, and more in *London*, which I do not take to be the meer Effect of our extraordinary Exports in Trade, for the years then laſt preceding, but partly of the Plate then lately Coined, and our Stocking *Ireland*; but more than either, from our far leſs yearly Imports of all kinds ſeveral years before 1660.

I muſt refer it to the Memory, or other Information of the Reader, whether he can comply with me in the aforeſaid late quantity of *our Harp and Croſs Money*; whatſoever it were, this Money being taken in to be recoined in the year (60) muſt, when recoined, produce the like Quantity of His *Majeſtie's Coin*; beſides which, according to the ſaid Accompt in *November* (75) there had then been 2238997 *l.* more Coined ſince His Majeſtie's Reſtoration, and

and ſince the ſaid Accompt, there hath been yet *more* Coyned; which ſuppoſing to be but 600000 *l.* had the Money ſo Recoyned, and ſince Coyned with His now Majeſtie's Impreſſion, continued in the Nation, and the new Money under His Majeſtie's Impreſſion, muſt have been much above Three Millions, I conceive near Four Millions; and then ſuppoſing we had Twelve Millions in the Nation, it would have been above 30 *per Cent.* of our currant Money in Tale; of more, were our whole Treaſure leſs than Twelve Millions.

Whereas we ſee at this day, that the new Money of His now Majeſtie's Impreſſion, does not amount to above 5 *per Cent.* of the currant Money in *the Countrey*, taking one Payment with another, (eſpecially in ſuch Counties as lye any thing remote from *London*) I think not ſo much.

'Tis true, that in *London*, where the Mint and Merchants are, there is ſome greater quantity of new Money, and perhaps ſomewhat more of late than uſually; becauſe that by occaſion of the *late Forreign Wars*, we have had ſomewhat a better Vent for our *Engliſh* Cloths, and a greater Exportation of our *Annual produce* of Corn: But yet in *London* it does not make near 30 *per Cent.* taking one Payment with another; nor I conceive, more than equal the quantity of our late Harp and Croſs Money.

Now if the Money *in His now Majeſties Impreſſion*, be *leſs* in quantity than the *Harp and Croſs Money*, it muſt follow, that notwithſtanding all the Money ſince Coyned, we have leſs Money in the Nation than we had in (59;) if our preſent new Coyn but equal the Harp and Croſs Money, it follows, that we have now no more Money than in (59). And in either Caſe, that as much of our new Coyn as amounts to the ſaid whole 2238997 *l.* and all the other Money Coyned ſince *November* (75) is alſo Exported: For though we may ſtill have ſome Coyn of each of the ſucceeding years ſince (59;) yet if all of it put together amounts to no more than the quantity of the Harp and Croſs Money we had in (59,) our Stock of Treaſure cannot be more than it was in (59:) if leſs, then our preſent Stock is leſs.

And if Millions of our *new Money*, Coyned ſince (59) be gone, as, I take it, 'tis evident they are; we may reaſonably Collect that as much or more of *our old Coyn*, is alſo Exported (by the old Coyn, I mean ſuch as was Coyned in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt, and before) of which we had lately a mighty Store, almoſt all of it valuable and unclipped, eſpecially *the Gold*, whereof we had an abundance commonly paſſing in home-Trade and Payments, there is no reaſon why theſe Coyns, being as valuable or more, ſhould

ſhould not be as good a Commodity in Trade as the new.

And accordingly we may to our Comforts obſerve, that this late mighty Store *of old Gold*, is in a manner totally vaniſhed, thoſe few pieces which remain, being almoſt taken as Medals, never to be parted with.

If it be ſaid that part of our old Gold is Coyned into Guinnies, this will not alter the Caſe, ſince our whole new Coyn is no more in proportion to the old, than before is noted.

So of our old Silver Coyn, there is very little remaining, but what is much Clipped, or worn; and therefore not valuable for Exportation. We have thoſe yet alive who can remember what a flowing Treaſure we had in all Parts of *England*, before we had any Harp and Croſs Money, and are now ſenſible of the general ſcarcity and Want of it.

This does let in a further Preſumption, that our new Coyn is diminiſhed to a much greater degree, than it appears to be: For, ſuppoſe we have now but a moiety of all the old Coyn we had in the year (59), 'Tis plain, that a moiety of the Harp and Croſs Money (had it remained) would now hold the ſame proportion to the old, as the whole did in (59), and ſo will a moiety of our new Coyned Money; and thus will it be in any leſſer proportions.

If the new Coyn come to be *leſs in proportion* to the old, than it was before, it is an infallible evidence of the *Diminution* of our Treaſure, becauſe the old Coyn *could not increaſe*; But if the new Coyn come to be *more in proportion* to the old Coyn than before, this is no manner of Demonſtration of the increaſe of Treaſure, ſince the decreaſe of the old Coyn may produce this Odds.

Thus after the Conſumption of our old Gold, we have more than Twenty Guinneys to one Broad Piece; but I think no body will preſs it as an Argument of more Gold in the Nation than we lately had; ſo having loſt ſo great a part of our valuable old Silver Coyn, 'tis no Wonder if our new Silver Coyn ſeems ſo much as it doth, eſpecially about *London*; perhaps it hath been a kind of Providence that we have had ſo much Clipt and worn Money; ſince otherwiſe we might have had as little old Silver, as we have old Gold; and might have been reduced to our preſent Store of new Silver Coyn, as we are to our Guinneys, which might have afforded a weighty Argument of the Increaſe of our Treaſure.

Upon theſe Grounds, and upon the common Wants, Neceſſities, and Decays mentioned before, it may reaſonably be concluded, That beſides the loſs of moſt of thoſe Millions Coyned ſince His Majeſtie's Reſtauration, we

we have loſt many more Millions of the old Coyn in Silver and Gold; I ſhall leave the quantity to be computed by the indifferent Reader: Thoſe who ſet out the ſaid Accompt from the Mint, taking notice of the great conſumption of our Treaſure by reaſon of its being Exported, did by the ſame Paper, then eſtimate it to be reduced to about four or five Millions, and by the Nature of that Accompt, they ſeem no unfit Perſons to make ſome competent Judgment of this Matter.

Whatſoever our Coyned Treaſure was when this Accompt was made, 'twas plainly much leſs then, than it would have been, had none been Exported; and though it muſt be admitted, that our late Exportation of our Annual Corn, and what other advantages we had during the late War, may have ſomewhat helped us, yet we have reaſon to think it farther diminiſhed now, eſpecially conſidering our loſſes at Sea by the *Dutch*, and others, before we diſ-engaged from the late War, and ſince by the *French* and *Algiers* Pirates, and the mony lately and daily exported by *Papiſts* departed hence; to which may be added what we muſt now further export by the expiration of the *Iriſh* Acts, and the *dear buying* of theſe goods we imported from *France*, already added to the former Overballance of our Importations.

Then let the Reader judg what we are to

hope for in our *private and publick Revenues*, I shall only endeavour to put him into a method of conjecturing, leaving the compute to his greater ingenuity and leisure. Suppose we have now 5, 6, or 7 Millions of Treasure in the Nation; let him consider how much of this must constantly lye in the *hands of Traders* to attend the payment of Customs, and the buying up of our vast importations; how much always is, and must be *actually collected* in *Taxes*, and either lies in the *Exchequer*, or in the hands of Officers; and how much does, and always will lye dead in *Banks* and other private hands; and then, how much will at the same time (*I say at the same time*) be employed in the home-Markets to buy of the annual *Produce of Lands*; perhaps it will not be half of the Whole: Then recollecting that we have 29568000 Acres of Land in *England*, what *Rent* can they yield, one with the other. Admitting this whole Treasure at the same time stirring in the home-Markets, our whole Land-Revenues could not be much; all the help we have is, that we have many *great wasts*, which yielding little or nothing, a great quantity of this floating money is applicable to the rest; and yet to our sorrow we have found that our Rents are mightily sunk, which having not abated so much or speedily as was requisite, our Yeomanry are generally impoverish't.

Then

Then for our *publick Revenue*, 'tis as plain, it muſt be confined to the ſtock of Treaſure be it greater or leſs. We have many who ſeem to reſent the narrowneſs of his Majeſtie's Revenue and Supplies, and are ready to expoſtulate why they ſhould not be equal to the *French King's*; let them conſider what may poſſibly be paid out of our Land Revenues thus contracted, and conſtantly charged with the maintenance of our numerous poor; and beſides, that the *Engliſh* having by the conſtitutions of the Government an undoubted *liberty* and *property*, are accuſtomed to live well, and their Repreſentatives, being a part of themſelves, in whoſe diſpoſition it lies to give ſupplies or not, will have regard to their own and the peoples abilities: ſhould they give extravagantly it would be like *Diego's* Will, and muſt induce many of thoſe ſad conſequences mentioned before; what then if we ſhould be involved in any long Foreign War, or obliged to any great extraordinary publick Charge in time of Peace, whilſt we remain under a conſumptive Trade? which I intimate once more to ſhew the neceſſity of improving our Trade.

I ſhall now anſwer ſome common Objections.

The moſt uſual is, That there is now *as much money to be let on good Securities in* England, *as there are Securities*, or rather more; from

whence ſome infer that there is as much, or more money than ever in *England*.

To this I anſwer, That on the contrary, it only proves the ſcarcity of Securities, and therein the poverty of the Nation; for *perſonal Security* for money being in a manner *loſt*; all the floating money to be let out at intereſt is thruſt upon Land-Securities; which (were they all good) would take off much leſs money than was let out at intereſt when both Land and Perſonal Securities ſtood: But, as the National Poverty hath ſubverted Perſonal Security, ſo hath it crept into the Land; for mens eſtates are already ſo entangled with Debts, that there is not one Land-Security in twenty that is good, as dear experience hath now taught us. Then, the Securities being grown ſo ſcarce and narrow, 'tis no wonder that there is now as much money to be let out as there are Securities, and more. Thus if a man had 1000 *l.* in the Iſle of *Shetland*, he would there hardly find any Security for it; which at this rate of arguing would prove the Iſle of *Shetland* richer than the Iſle of *Great Britain*.

And upon this occaſion I ſhall add, That there is no poſſible way for reſtoring the Securities and Credits of *England*, but by reſtoring its Riches; no *Regiſter* can do it, at leaſt comparable to the other; we may Regiſter our common

common Poverty, but nothing will make an ill man value his credit, or able to ſatisfie for a Cheat, but his own private wealth; nothing can make a man who is honeſtly inclined to do a foul thing, but Poverty and Neceſſity.

Another Objection, partly anſwered before, is, That *there is ſtill as much money in and about* London, *as ever*; from whence they would argue as much money in the Nation as before.

I cannot admit this fact; if I did, the conſequence is lame and frivolous; however, becauſe there hath been ſuch a pother made about the money in *London*, I ſhall give ſome further account of it.

I agree that there are conſiderable quantities of money always lodging in and about *London*, in ſome particular hands: But the reaſon is, becauſe the King's Revenue is paid in, and iſſued out, in and about *London*. There is alſo the *Mint*, and there do our *principal Merchants* live, who Trade with ſo much exported money or bullion, and keep money dead for the Cuſtoms. This is alſo the great Port for Forreign Importations; and the Country Retailers, who buy them there and vend them to the people, muſt ſend up their money to *London*: Upon which and the like occaſions, 'tis thought near half the money in *England* is in *London*: The more is the pity; it were much better for the Nation that there were more *home-Manufacture*, with

with Forreign *Stores* of re-exportable Goods, and a leſs proportion of our money; and the rather becauſe it ſtagnates for a time in the hands of Merchants, Banquers, and Scriveners; and facilitates the culling, melting, and exportation. This being the great *Sluce* of our Treaſure will neceſſarily draw it from all parts, as long as we have any in the Nation.

Theſe Stores of money in *London* muſt rather evidence the poverty of the people, who being over ballanced by the money drawn out for Importations and Taxes, and therefore incapable of anſwering thoſe payments by Bills or Returns to *London*; very much of our Taxes have been ſent up in *Carts and Waggons*, and our Country Retailers continually ſend up money in ſpecie *by the Carriers*; which muſt drein away that which remains, in a little time: Nor do thoſe Stores of money much ſpread, or benefit the general body of Traders, even in *London*; who were never ſo poor or broke ſo faſt (tho never ſo fine) as now. It is impoſſible that the occaſions, vanities, or the remaining ſtock of the Kingdom can ever ſupport ſuch a prodigious Increaſe of Retailers and Shop-keepers as are in and about *London*, being near 100000 in number, when in *Amſterdam* there are not 5000.

Nor is it to be objected, That I have not computed *our preſent Stores of Merchandize* or Forreign

reign Effects as part of the National wealth.

Firſt, becauſe the preſent queſtion is about the actual *fruit and produce* of a National Trade in new Treaſure; and not about the quantity of our Stores of Merchandize or Forreign Effects.

'Tis true, That if a Nation whoſe Trade is truly regulated, hath a great *Store-houſe* of *Forreign Goods, as in* Holland, *or great Forreign effects*, 'tis very poſſible and likely that theſe may produce new Treaſure; and if they do, then is the National gain in Treaſure to be computed, and not before.

For on the other ſide 'tis impoſſible (even in a Nation that hath a due ballance of Trade) that ſuch Stores and Effects may produce no Treaſure; for the Forreign Stores being re-exported may be loſt by the perils of the Sea, or Seiſures of Princes or Pirates: we may remember the late ſeiſures of the *Engliſh*, by the *French* Capers; the like caſualties do attend Forreign Effects, for which we may alſo remember when our Effects were ſeized in *Spain*.

But Secondly, Suppoſing none of thoſe Caſualties, yet (as a National Trade may be managed) theſe ſtores and Effects ſhall produce no new Treaſure to the Nation; as when theſe Forreign Goods and Stores are, and muſt be ſpent at home; and the Forreign Effects are continually by Bills of Exchange, applied to pay

pay for thoſe Forreign Goods; ſo if the Merchants are ſometimes forced to Import and Coyn ſome Forreign Bullion yearly, but yet Export it, or the like quantity of Money or Bullion, the Nation gets nothing; and if more Treaſure be Exported than is yearly Imported, the Nation loſes; in which Caſe the ſtock ſo imployed in Trade doth prejudice the wealth of the Nation; ſince in the Whole it makes up a monſtrous Engin for the Bulgeing out of its Treaſure; and that this hath been the Caſe of our *Engliſh* Trade, is plain enough.

Nor can the *Forreign Stock* in ſuch a Conſumptive Trade be of any great value, ſince as ſome Effects are gotten by our Merchants in one Forreign Countrey, ſo are debts contracted in another, as long as our Merchants can have credit; and then perhaps our Forreign debts may be near the value of our Forreign Effects, and probably more; or however, cannot be thought equal to our former ſtock in Trade, when we were not over ballanced.

There are yet other objectors, who admitting much of our Treaſure Exported, will excuſe our Trade, and aſſign the cauſe of it in the *over weightineſs of our Coyn*, and the *undervaluing* it in our *Forreign Bills of Exchange*, *&c.*

Theſe are old inconſiderate fancies, ſufficiently refuted before, yet I ſhould be more particular

cular in it, had not Mr. *Mun* in his Book of Trade taken the pains to clear this and the like objections by evident reaſon and inſtances, in ſix ſeveral Chapters, beginning at *pa.* 62. proving withal, that nothing but the Overballance of Trade can exhauſt the National Treaſure; to which therefore I refer the Reader.

SECT. XIV.

People and Treaſure the true Pillars of the National ſtrength: The Odds in the different Uſe and imployment of people. The abſoluteneſs of the French *Monarchy no cauſe of the preſent* French *Grandure: The late Application of the* French *Councils to the Increaſe of Trade, People, and Treaſure; and the occaſion thereof. The greater excellency of the Form of our* Engliſh *Government. The farther neceſſity of Improving our Trade from the Modern Treaſures and Powers of the* French; *of their Naval force, the* Algiers *Pyracy; how the* French *deſign to engroſs all Maritime Commerce; our dangers from* France; *of the preſent condition of the* Dutch: *That our late Prohibition of* French *Goods will not diſable that Monarchy, nor better our Trade; meer Prohibitions of no value: Our great advantages in Trade above* France

France *and* Holland: *That a ſpeedy Regulation of our Trade &c. would ſecure us againſt all Forreign Powers, and Dangers at home: Of Exciſes, and other Taxes. The certain Increaſe of his Majeſties Revenue; hence, what occaſion for a Parliament, &c.*

FRom what hath been ſaid, it is evident that *National power* is not Chimerical, but is founded on *People and Treaſures*; and that, according to the different condition of theſe its true Pillars, it immediately grows more vigorous or languid: that ſufficient ſtores of Treaſure cannot otherwiſe be gotten, than by the induſtry of the people; and, That till they have it, they cannot pay.

People are therefore in truth the chiefeſt, moſt fundamental, and pretious commodity, out of which may be derived all ſorts of Manufactures, Navigation, Riches, Conqueſts, and ſolid Dominion: This *capital material*, being of it ſelf *raw* and indigeſted, is committed into the hands of the Supreme Authority; in whoſe prudence and diſpoſition it is, to improve, manage, and faſhion it to more or leſs advantage; if any individual Manufacturer ſhould permit his *raw materials* to be Exported into Forreign Countreys, or ſhould himſelf make great ſtore of knots of ſelters in his Yarn, he would

would ſoon have a very ſlender, or difficult buſineſs of it: ſo great an odds there is in the different diſpoſition of the ordinary induſtry of the people, that on the one hand, they may be thruſt on in the purſuit of private intereſt, deſtructive to the publick, and be obliged like *Cannibals* to live by devouring one another, (by which they muſt continually and inevitably wound and weaken the publick:) when on the other, their ordinary labours, more aptly and induſtriouſly methodized, ſhall as unavoidably aggrandize that Government which protects them; and this without the Midwifery of thoſe Arts, Shifts, and Projections, which otherwiſe may be found neceſſary for its more preſent Support.

More particularly it appears, That the preſent *French power*, which is now the admiration and terror of the World, hath no other foundation; and therefore is not derived from the meer *deſpotick Form* of that Government, as ſome would inſinuate, but from a prudent *Relaxation* of the Rigor of it towards the perſons and Stocks of the Trading part of that people; this Form of Government being in its nature the moſt incompatible with Trade, of all others; nor probably had Trade ever received any encouragement in *France*, but upon a *neceſſity*; this Monarchy being become abſolute, was yet low, poor, and deſpicable; beſet round

round about with *Spaniſh* Forces, Territories, and Allies, and poiſoned with *Spaniſh* Penſions within, and therefore ready to become a *Spaniſh* Province: It was then that this Monarchy found *abſoluteneſs* without ſufficient Treaſure was but a trifle: That Arbitrary power might force ſtore of *Blood and Tears* from the people, but not of *Money*, unleſs they had it: It was then that the opening and growth of the *Dutch* Trade preſented an expedient of drawing in greater quantities of the diffuſed Treaſures of the World into *France* by a Machine of home-Manufactures, than the *Spaniards* could directly from their Mines; which therefore was embraced by the *dying hands* of this Monarchy, and ſupported and improved ever ſince by a Succeſſion of underſtanding men: which apparently was not done by any peculiar virtue in this *Form* of Government, but by a neceſſary Abating of its inherent rapaciouſneſs, which otherwiſe would have ſwallowed up every *Sols* of the ſtocks imployed in Manufactures and other Trade, and thereby would have driven away the people; as may be ſeen in the *ſtrong* Governments of *Turkey*, *Muſcovy*, *Spain*, and others.

The *French* Councils diſcerning where the true ſtrength of Empire lay, were not ſo bewitch't with the *luſciouſneſs* of their Arbitrary power as to ſeek any ſuch extreme execution of

of it; their policies have long gone another way, as may be infallibly collected from the effects, and by other lights: So long ago as *Henry* the Third's time of *France*, *Bernard de Gerrard* Lord of *Haillan*, a great Politician in his time, preſented an excellent piece to that King, intituled, *The Eſtate and Succeſs of the Affairs of* France, thereby repreſenting *by what courſes that Kingdom had been, or might be aggrandized or weakened*; amongſt others, he highly recommends the *Support of the Populacy*, beginning thus "The people are by "Juſtice to be preſerved in *liberty*, Pag. 195. "as will to *Trade* as to *Labour*, and to do eve- "ry thing belonging to their degree; by theſe "the Kingdom are *maintained*, and *enriched* "in general, and particular; if they bear the "charge of Tailles, ſo are they to be cheriſhed, "defended, and ſuſtained by the Nobles, as for- "merly they were, and now ought to be, from "the violences and oppreſſions of their Neigh- "bours, and by the King and Juſtice from the "*inſolence* of the Nobles. For ſo it was, that the Nobles or Gentry, being diſcharged of the Tailles, had given up the Conſtitution of Eſtates; for which, *they* had been indulged with a kind of *deſpotick power*, within their own particular *Fiefs*; from whoſe barbarities proceeded the greateſt ſufferings of the people; whereof this Author is not nice or ſparing to

give ſeveral inſtances too long to recite. I have troubled you with this citation, becauſe this piece was by the Author Re-dedicated to *Henry* the Fourth, whom the Author tells in his Epiſtle, *That his Predeceſſor* Henry *the 3d. uſed to read it with an Appetite*, and yet the Author goes ſo far as to applaud the Antient Conſtitution of the Eſtates or *Parliaments* in *France*, affirming them to have been the *mutual Succour, Medicine, and Remedy both of the King and People in all their Calamities.* If we come to the Reign of *Lewis* the 13th. under the Adminiſtration of Cardinal *Richelieus*, we may Judg how vigilant the *French* Councils were in his time, for the Increaſe of People and Trade, by two great Inſtances mentioned before: Firſt in the *Toleration of Proteſtants*, after a Victorious Reduction of all their ſtrengths by force of Arms: this mighty Prince and his wiſe Miniſters overcame all *reſentments* to advance and cement the glory of his Empire; ſo that 'tis obſerved by Dr. *Heylin*, "That the "Proteſtants never had the Exer- "ciſe of their Religion with ſo much freedom "as they had, after their reducing of their "Forts and Garriſons to this King's obedience. Secondly, by *moderating of Cuſtoms* and Port-duties on Merchandizes, which in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors had

Pag. 207.

Geogr. 176.

Bernard de Gerrard of Finances.

been raiſed and accumulated by about Twenty ſeveral *Edicts*; but in *his* time were in a manner taken off, as appears by what Sir *Walter Raleigh* Repreſented to King *James* about ſixty years ſince, cited before; but if we would at once diſcover how far the *French Politicks* have inclined this way, we may obſerve them as they are Digeſted and Refined in the prodigious Book, ſo entituled, written, as appears, ſeveral years ſince, (the Authority of which piece, though already famous, I ſhall give a farther account of) where in the Chapter of Finances, it being firſt obſerved, "That a State is "no further *Powerful* than proportionably "to the Richneſs of its publick Treaſury, and "the greatneſs of the yearly Income that main-"tains it: it is laid as a farther unalterable Maxime, "That the *Fundamental* Wealth of a "State conſiſts in the *multitude of Subjects*; for "its Men that *Till the Ground, produce Manu-"factures, that manage Trade, that go to War, "that people Colonies, and in a word, that bring "in Money.* To make way in *France* for the multiplying of Men, divers courſes are there dictated *to oblige both Men and Women to Marry, viz.* By Freedoms and Exemptions in Caſe they do, and have many Children, (now eſtabliſhed by an *Edict*) and by Penalties in caſe they do

See before, *Sect. 7th.*

French Politicks pag. 108, 109.

not; whence it may be observed, what Estimate the *French* Politicks put upon *Marriage*.

In the Chapter of the 3*d* Estate thus,

Pag. 67. "There cannot be too great a number "of *Husbandmen* in *France*, by reason of the "Fertility of the Countrey; and our Corn being "Transported into Forreign Countries, we "ought *to make great Stores of it*, and *have as* "*much as may be in a readiness*, (which I am told "is also so ordered by an *Edict*.) *Handicrafts-*

Pag. 68. "*men and Artificers* are no less useful; "for besides, that Manufactures do keep "men at work, and *engage them*, they are the "Cause that the Silk, the Wool, the Skins, the "Flax, the Timber, and the other Commodi- "ties that grow in *France* are made Use of, and "that Countrey People have the means to "Barter these things, and put them off; espe- "cially being wrought into Wares, not made "in Forreign Parts, we shall grow further "Principal Manufacturers, as we already are of "*Hats for* Spain, *and Stuffs for all* Europe; *a* "*Matter of exceeding great Consequence*. All "this quickens Trade, and makes *Money* pass "to and fro, *which promoteth the Publick, and* "*therewith at once every one's private advan-* "*tage*: There must be *Merchants* also, for "without their Industry, the Artificers Shops "would be Stores never emptied, the Grana- "ries would remain full of Corn, and the Cel-

"lars

"lars of Wines, *&c.* In the Chapter of *General Orders*, Uſury is thought fit to be Prohibited (which is accordingly ſuppreſſed by an *Edict*:) I ſhall leave it to Enquiry, whether moſt of the reſt of theſe Politicks relating to matters at home, are not eſtabliſhed by other *Edicts*; if the Reader would further obſerve, how curious the *French* Politicks are to provide for the Increaſe and true Uſe of Populacy, I ſhall refer him to the Thirteenth Chapter of this Admirable Tract, directing the *Education of Children*, and when 'tis fit to *Marry* them; and to the Chapter of *Commerce*, or rather to the whole piece. By all I have ſaid, it appears, that although the *French* Kings have aſſumed an Arbitrary Power, the *French* Politicks have not *reſted* upon this as a *Security*, but for the Aggrandizing of that Monarchy, have found it neceſſary to *relax and retire* from the ſeverity of this Power, and to reſort to *popular Principles*: a Matter, which may deſerve the Conſideration of our *New Polititians* the *Hobbiſts*, who place all the virtue of the *French* Government in its *abſoluteneſs*: In the mean time I ſhall add, that notwithſtanding what I have ſaid, I do not pretend that the Condition of the *French* People, though made tolerable to the *French*, is comparable to the happineſs of thoſe whoſe greater Freedoms and Enjoyments are ſecured by Fundamental Laws and

Conſtitutions: But this I ſhall obſerve, That whereas formerly, when this People were wretchedly poor, almoſt every ſmall new Impoſition begot an *Inſurrection* in *France*, as the ſaid *De Gerrard* takes notice, the *French* now pay twenty times greater Taxes, with much more Satisfaction, becauſe they are enabled ſo to do; and beſides can live far more plentifully than before, many of the Traders ſplendidly, and gain conſiderable Eſtates: To all which may be added another particular, in which the late *French* Politicks deviate from the uſual *Jealous Maxims* of *Arbitrary Government*; which is a general care to inſtruct the *Plebeians* of all ſorts, in the *Diſcipline of Arms*.

The late ſwelling Power of *Spain* after the Suppreſſion of the *Spaniſh Cortes*, or Eſtates, derived from the *accidental* Diſcovery of the *Indian* Mines, and the preſent Power of *France* after the Suppreſſion of the *French* Eſtates, from as *accidental* an Improvement of their *Trade*, have been the occaſion that ſome out of miſtake, or deſign, have much applauded *that Form* of Government, when it muſt be Confeſſed that the ſame *Indian* Treaſure and Trade, would have rendred the ſame Nations, under the continuance of the Eſtates, or *England* under its *preſent Government* much ſtronger, and *more ſecure*, and this, by the advantages in *this Form* of Government.

Deſpotick,

Deſpotick, or *Arbitrary Monarchy*, was for many Ages as great a Stranger in this Part of the World, as *Republican Government*; As the *European* Nations by degrees caſt off the *Roman Yoke*, they had before their eyes the Example of their former *Miſtreſs*, the *Common-wealth* of *Rome*, which became Vaſſalized to her own *Servants*, by the unlimitted Power committed to Dictators and Generals; theſe aſſuming the Empire *by force*, and *without title*, were uncontrollable by Law, and therefore did not only gratifie *their own* Luſts, and juſt Fears of being ſupplanted by all manner of Cruelties, but their *Maſters the Soldiers* alſo, by the Spoils of the Provinces; nay, and of *Italy*, and *Rome* it ſelf; and yet were they very frequently killed, depoſed, and changed by the ſame force which ſet them up: To avoid the Miſchiefs on each ſide, as the Members of this Empire reſumed their National Rights, they univerſally cemented into a third Form of Government, much the ſame with *ours*: which, if we truly conſider it, appears purpoſely, and wiſely Calculated to prevent the Inconveniencies of the other two, and yet to take in all that is *excellent in either*; For firſt, we have a fixt Royal Legal Sovereignty, which filling the ſeat of Majeſty, fruſtrates the Ambitious hopes of others from ſtepping into it; Then we have the Conſtitution of *Parliaments*, by whoſe Interven-

tion, Liberty and Property are preserved: Thus Revolutions and Oppressions *at home* are prevented. Then for the strength of this Government *outwards* upon Forreign Nations, it must *in the Nature of it*, equal, if not exceed any other, especially absolute Monarchy; not only becaus its greater *freedoms* capacitate the People to Trade with more advantage, as I shall yet more particularly shew, but becaus the same *freedoms* beget a kind of Generosity and Bravery even in the *common sort*, when Absoluteness of Government debases their Spirits, and reconciles them to the Ignominy of being *beaten*, at least till they acquire a kind of *insolence* by long Service in War, which can hardly be called *Courage*. All Experience hath warranted this odds between Freemen and Slaves; but there is yet a farther odds, when the Quarrel is *National*, especially if espoused both by the King and Parliament; for then the *individual* Animosities of the *Whole* being engaged, the People do not meerly fight for Pay, but out of *Principle*, and in defence of those greater Enjoyments they have at home, when the Vassals of Absolute Monarchy are driven on by the fear of their *Despotical Power*, which they would be glad to see subverted, and themselves delivered.

In an *Absolute* Monarchy, the Fate of the Whole depends upon the *Prudence* of the Monarch;

narch; be his Empire never ſo flouriſhing, he may by one *temerarious Edict*, or other Act, bring all into Confuſion: How great muſt the Danger then be, when the wiſeſt of Mortal men are often tranſported by Paſſions, and otherwiſe liable to Miſtakes? The voluntary Councils of ſuch a Monarch muſt gratifie his Power by Applauding or Complying with his Reſolutions and Sentiments: But what if there come a *weak* Prince? againſt which there is no Security? Or ſuppoſe the King be left an *Infant*? then all goes to wrack: thoſe Armies which were the *ſupport* of the laſt Predeceſſor, wanting Buſineſs and Conduct, fall into *Mutinies*; all are working their Ambitious ends, many contending for the *Tuition* and Publick Adminiſtration; thoſe that have it not, ſupplanting thoſe that have, whereby the Government is endangered: all which was viſible during the whole Infancy of the preſent *French King*, though he had a *Mother*, and ſo faithful and wiſe a Miniſter as *Mazarine*: The high Animoſities of the *French Princes* and *Nobles*, carried them into continual Diſtractions and Civil Wars; ſo that had the *Engliſh*, or any other Neighbour Nation, then been in a Condition to have ſupported the Male-contents, they might have Subverted the *French Empire*: *which miſchiefs* are totally, or in a high meaſure avoided by the Conſtitution of *Parliaments*;

ments; without whoſe conſent, Laws cannot be altered, or Publick Innovations made; and who by their courſe of *Impeachments* are a continual Check and Awe upon men of indirect and Ambitious deſigns: So that (according to the excellent Motto of our own Sacred Prince) it may be truly ſaid of *ſuch* a *Monarchy*, and its *Parliaments*, that they are to each other *Decus & Tutamen*: what would have become of the *French* Monarchy when their King *John* was Priſoner in *England*, had it not been for their Eſtates, or *Parliaments*? we have reaſon to believe, That were that *Crown and Nation* brought into great Exigencies and Diſtreſſes *by any Forreign Power*, they would be convened again, the Conſtitution being not *there* abſolutely *diſſolved*, as the ſaid *De Gerrard* Obſerves; nothing can be fatal to ſuch a Government, but a diſunion between the Prince and Parliament, and therefore a great part of the tranſcendent Policy of this our Form of Government conſiſts in the high *Obligations* and *means* of a *Union*: the Prince being inveſted with the mighty *Prerogatives* of making War and Peace, Calling, Prorogueing, and Diſſolving *Parliaments*, and as many others as fill Volumes, hath ſuch a Controll on the Parliament, that it is generally to be preſumed, they will ever gratifie him in whatſoever is any way conſiſtent with that *Truſt* they are under; on the other

other ſide, the *Parliament*, being the great and High Council, and their Conſent requeſite to all new Taxes, whenſoever the Prince on any Emergency deſires their Advice, or a Supply of Money, the People muſt neceſſarily have time to repreſent their true grievances to him, whoſe Princely favour and occaſions, will then equally call upon him to redreſs what is really amiſs; *in which Commutation* he muſt have a far greater advantage than any *bare Tax* he receives; ſince as it appears, the true ſtrength of all Monarchies and Governments depend upon well-being Abilities, and Increaſe of the *Populacy*; which no other Prince hath Comparably ſo certain a means to underſtand and Improve, as he that hath a Parliament: To all which may be added, that *mutual Affection* which muſt naturally follow theſe Endearments, and which muſt render the Prince and Nation much the ſtronger, never to be hoped for in any other kind of Monarchy: There are yet farther Obligations to this *Union* between the Prince and People from a juſt ſenſe of thoſe fatalities which muſt follow a *diſunion*; we need not reſort farther than to the Fable where we have an Accompt of a quarrel between the ſeveral Limbs of the Body Natural, whereof the Conſequence was, that every part grew preſently Languid and Impotent, and ready to yield it ſelf a Feaſt to the *Ravens*.

If

If then there be the utmost Advantages on the one side, and Mischiefs on the other, this is all humane Prudence can provide; God himself hath done no more in those Divine Institutions which he hath projected for the Support, Felicity, and Security of Mankind: against which, it hath never yet been accounted any Objection that they have been violated; nor is it any against the form of our Government, that it hath fallen into some Convulsions; as long as Men are Men, there will be pravity and irregular Appetites amongst them, which in some Ages and Circumstances may be able to give greater Disturbances than in others; if in any Society of Men, unreasonable and destructive Propositions are insisted upon, or reasonable and necessary ones refused, disunions are inevitable: This I say in general, 'tis no part of my design to Rub up old Sores, nor will it, I presume, be expected I should embroil the present Subject by vindicating Sides or Parties; let the Consequences of former disunions be remembred.

But why should I dwell longer upon Arguments to evince the admirable Frame of our Government, when it is so unanswerably demonstrated by its former Splendid continuance for near 100 years? by the glory of our Princes, who, in Conjunction with their Parliaments, ever were, and thought themselves the greatest

greateſt and happieſt in *Europe*: by their ſtupendious Atchievements in War, and by the former ready Adherence, and large Contributions of our Parliaments, in what tended to the Advantage or Honour of *England*; we had no other form of Government in our *Edward* the Third, or *Henry* the Fifth's time, who Succeſſively found Supplies of Engliſh *Treaſure* and *Courage* enough to Conquer *France*; our Queen *Elizabeth* ſince, baffled the *Deſpotick*, and then tremendous Monarchy of *Spain*, which continuing abſolute, is (notwithſtanding its vaſt extent of Territory) one of the weakeſt in *Europe*: had our *Henry* the Seventh entertained the Overtures of *Columbus*. or our Councils in the Reign of King *James*, or ſince the wiſe Obſervations of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, or followed the example of *France*, and other Neighbouring Nations, in eaſing and improving our Trade, there is no doubt but the *Engliſh* Treaſures and Power had far ſurmounted both the *Spaniſh* and *French* at this day: It is notorious that the Subjects of the late *Dukes* of *Burgundy*, under the Conſtitutions of Eſtates, or *Parliaments*, for many ſucceeding Ages, drove a mighty Trade, which gave thoſe Dukes a long Superiority over the *Abſolute French* King, till the Dukedom became annexed to *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* by their Perſecution for Conſcience,

See Sir *William Temple* of the *Dutch*, cap. 1.

science, and Tyrannous Attempts after Arbitrary Government lost both the Trade and Traders, and Seven of the Provinces, whom they forced into a Republick.

Treasures are those *Vehicles* which carry out men of *daring Spirits*, mighty *Thoughts and Abilities* into the Conquest of Forreign Countries, there is no Nation but hath a *breed* of People naturally more fit for these great Performances than any other, who growing Generals or other Commanders at Land or Sea; or Intendants in the greatest Negotiations, might, this way, prove highly Serviceable to the Publick, and find business for *Pen-men* to write their *Memoirs*, as in *France* they do: whereas, by the want of a sufficient home-Treasure, the more Couragious sort, must either be *Hackneys* to Forreigners, or degenerate into *Hectors* or *Thieves* at home, and are killed in Brawles, or are hanged for Murthers or Robberies. The more *Deliberative* generously regarding the common Exigencies, more than their own, may lie under the frowns of Fortune, and great Men, and be thought burthensom and dangerous: there are many other Disadvantages which follow a National Poverty, as hath been noted before, which ought not to be ascribed to this or that mere Form of Government, or temper of the People.

That

That a ſpeedy and Compleat Regulation of our *Engliſh* Trade may yet further appear highly neceſſary, I ſhall briefly obſerve what have been the more Modern Effects of this mighty Trade in *France*.

This may too plainly be ſeen by the great performances of the *French* in theſe laſt Wars, in which, the *French* King hath been able to maintain above 250000 Men in Arms, whom he hath duly paid; and yet ſuch have been his Treaſures, That he hath not been obliged to put the event of the War to the *puſh* of a Battel; but wearies out his Enemies with Expence from year to year, and being able to lay up mighty Stores, can keep the Fields in the *Winter*, when his Adverſaries, though as valiant People as any on the Earth, are fain to lye at home: Thus watching his Advantages, he hath Taken and Burnt many ſtrong Towns, laid many Provinces waſt, breathing out Death and Devaſtations as he goes. This he hath done in the face of the world, in a War with near 20 Princes and States, whoſe lamentable Sufferings, with the Cries of their People, have long pierced our ears; whilſt the *French* King grows more Vigorous and Powerful, and his Armies grow better Diſciplined continually, and hath at laſt reduced the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* to the Terms of a diſhonourable Peace, by expoſing their Allies to the *French* Power; which

which hath obliged the reſt to a Complyance on his own Terms; and now he gives the Law to them All, keeping mighty Armies on foot to Invade whom he pleaſes: But that which is yet more Prodigious is, that even during this War, he hath been able to carry on the Building of his preſent *great Fleet*, conſiſting of about 200 Ships of War, plentifully Armed with Braſs Guns, and accurately built for Service; he hath alſo furniſhed himſelf with abundant of Naval Proviſions of all ſorts, at an immenſe Charge, every Ship having its diſtinct Stores and Storehouſe, and therefore may be made ready on a ſuddain: At the ſame time, he hath imployed multitudes of Men in cutting of Canals through Rocks and Mountains, in making, cleanſing, and ſecuring Havens upon the Coaſts oppoſite, or near to *England* (whither by degrees, in theſe two or three years paſt, he hath drawn down the greateſt part of his Navy) and at the ſame time hath anſwered mighty Annual Penſions to the *Swedes*, and *Swiſſes*, (whoſe lives he buys with his Money:) beſides all the other vaſt private Penſions, Gratuities and Aids he beſtows in the Courts and Countreys of other Princes, (by which, perhaps he hath made as great Advantages as by his Arms:) and yet 'tis probable, that in all this he hath not exceeded the bounds of his ordinary Revenue.

That

That which moſt threatens the Trade of *England*, is his *Naval Force*, which none of his Predeceſſors ever had, and were checked if they pretended to it; Queen *Elizabeth* forbad *Henry the 4th.* of *France* (on a ſuddain called the Great) Building great Ships, elſe ſhe would fire them in his Harbours: Since which the *French* have deſiſted, till about the year 1664. as may appear by that excellent Treatiſe, intituled, *A free Conference*, Printed in 1667. by the ſpecial Appointment of the truly Honourable the Lord *Arlington*, where *Pag.* 49. we find theſe words, "Not above three years "ago, *France* was hardly able to ſet out 20 "Ships; (that is to ſay, Men of War) now "they have 60 large Veſſels ready furniſhed, "and well Armed, and do apply their Induſtry "in every part to Augment the number, &c. I ſhall forbear repeating ſome ſharp Reflections which next follow.

And that the *French* King might want no *Seamen* of his own, and might at leaſt *ſhare* in the Gain of *Navigation*, he hath for ſeveral years paſt endeavoured by all Imaginable Encouragements to eſtabliſh a mighty Navigation in *France*; ſo that for one Trading *French* Ship there was 20 or 30 years ſince, there are now 40. For this purpoſe he hath Propagated a Sea-Fiſhery, to a very great degree, which Improves daily to the prejudice of our remain-

ing *English* Fishery; and besides, hath yearly educated Supernumerary Seamen on Board the *French* Trading Ships, at his own Charge; so that 'tis to be feared he will stand in little need of Forreign *Seamen* for his Ships of War; or if he do, the *Dutch* have Store, which perhaps he may have for his Money, as 'tis probable he may the Fleets of *Swedeland*, *Portugal*, and *Algiers*; these his Allies of *Algiers*, (as 'tis said, by the assistance of his Money upon a general Redemption of *French* Slaves) are on a sudden gotten from 10 to above 40 Men of War; and as soon as our Applications in *France* had prevailed with the *French* to desist from taking our Ships, these *Algiers* Pyrats fell upon us, and have continually pick't up our Merchantmen, and Vassalized our Seamen and other People ever since; they now do it before our faces, in our Channel, finding Harbour in the *French* opposite parts, which makes a great Addition to our late Losses; and, which is yet worse, hath so terrified our *Seamen* and *Merchants*, that many already think it necessary to trade in *Dutch* and *French Bottoms*, a Consequence which 'tis probable might be foreseen by some of our Neighbors, who wish we had neither Ships nor Seamen.

Note, most of that Fleet which the *Algerines* had (which was but small) was destroyed by the *English* at Cape *Spartill*, and *Bugia*, about eight years since; They have since Built 40 Men of War, from 20 to 50 Guns and upwards, besides Brigantines, Gallies, *&c.*

At

At the ſame time our Gazetts weekly tell us of great Squadrons of *French* Men of War, proudly ranging in all Quarters of the World, in the *Mediterrancan*, in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, and in our own Seas, viewing the Strengths and Weakneſſes, and Sounding and Commanding the Harbours of other Nations.

We find it ſaid in the *Free Conference*, "That *France* is our Hereditary Enemy, and "hath ſo often tryed what we are able to do "againſt the enlarging of their Empire, who "have graven it deep on their hearts, the in-"jury of the Title, which to their ſhame *Eng-"land* bears in all Publick Treaties, and her "Trophies in reference to that Crown; This "very *France* hath no greater deſire than to "take the *Dominion* of the *Sea* from us, *&c.*

If we look into the before-mentioned *French Politicks*, they aſſure us of the ſame; of which piece, becauſe I ſo often cite it; I ſhall firſt give the Reader ſome *preſent* Accompt; and *farther*, when I have done with it: "The "*Engliſh* Preface tells us, the Author was a "Perſon bred up under Monſieur *Colebert*, and "to ſhew his Abilities, writ this Treatiſe, and "in Manuſcript preſented it to the *French* "King, which was favourably received; but "afterwards Vanity prompting him to publiſh "it in Print, the King look't upon him as one

"that had *discovered his Secrets*, and turning "his favour into frowns, caused him to be Im- "prisoned in the *Bastile*, where he continued "a long time, and afterwards was Banished, &c. 'tis like to some place where he should not be able to aver the same, or disclose more Secrets; what opportunities he might have of learning Secrets by his Attendance on Monsieur *Colebert*, whether he might over-hear the Debates and Results of the *French* Councils, or whether Casually, or by order he had a View of the Papers, and was but the servile Compiler, or bare Porter of this Scheme or Manual of Policies, I leave to be examined; a stupendious piece it is, which being written seven or eight years since, and presaging so great a part of what hath followed, gives so considerable an Authority to it self, that its Credit need not depend upon that of the Author of the *Growth of Popery*; who, as 'tis hinted in the *English* Preface, calls it the Measures of the *French* King's Designs.

These Politicks having first delineated the Comprehensive and steddy Foundations of the *French* Monarchy, as built upon Trade, Treasure, and Populacy at home, they then proceed to look abroad, and first they project the Ingrossing of all Commerce at Sea, and this *at a lump*, by imploying part of this Treasure in Building a Fleet of

Pag. 162, 163.

Men

Men of War able to Command it, in which they ſay, "All things Conſpire to give the "*French* hopes of Succeſs; the work how-"ever is ſuch as muſt be *leiſurely* carried "on, and perfected by little and little, ſo *great* "*a Deſign continually Alarming Europe, Aſia,* "*Africa*, and *America*, Friends and Foes; a "Precipitation of it would be its Ruine, Six "or Ten years time might be Allotted for it: "The King may keep 100 Gallies, and 100 "Ships in the Mediterranean, and 200 Sail "upon the *Ocean*, the more Veſſels he ſhall "have, the more enabled he will be to reco-"ver the Expence made about them: The Sea "will yield Maintenance for the Sea, either "by Commerce or War; There is Timber in "*France*, there is Cordage, there are Sails, "there is Iron and Braſs, &c. When things "have taken their Courſe, Seamen will be had "in time, and the profit that will accrew will "afford Store, and bring them in *from all Parts* "*of the World.*

"The Fleets with the King might Pag. 165.
"keep upon the *Ocean*, would make him Ma-"ſter of all the *Powers and Trade* of the *North*; "yea, though the *Hollander* and *Engliſh* ſhould "*Unite* againſt *France*, they could not avoid "their Ruine *in the end*; for how could the "one or the other make good their Commerce "(which is all they have to truſt to) if they

" were forced to keep great Armadoes to con-
" tinue it? The Point of *Britain* is the *Gate* to
" enter into, and go out of the *Channel*: Fifty
" Ships of War at *Brest*, would keep this *Gate*
" *fast shut*, and they would not open it but by
" the Kings Command.---*Thus there would need*
" *no War almost to be made for all these things,*
" *nor His Majestie's Forces hazarded: It will*
" *be sufficient to give his Orders to Forreigners;*
" *nor will it be difficult to cut them out work in*
" *their own Countries*, and by this means stay
" their Arms at home, and make them spend
" their strengths there; something of this in
" its place hereafter.

" His Majestie's Power being thus strongly
" setled in each Sea, it will be easie to *secure*
" Commerce in *France*, and even *draw* the
" Merchants thither from all parts; I say *secure*
" Commerce; for till this be done, it will
" ever be incertain and dangerous.

It may not be improper to observe, with some reference to what hath been debated in the preceding Sections, what further Expedients the *French* Politicks dictate in this Chapter, for the *securing* of Commerce: Amongst others we there find this Caution; "It must
" be studiously prevented that Commerce in-
" troduce not into a *State-Superfluity*, *Excess*,
" and *Luxury*, which are often follow-
Pag. 169. " ed with Ambition, Avarice, and a *dan-*
" *gerous*

"*gerous Corruption of Manners.*: It is "added, That it hath been a queſtion "offered to debate, whether Traffick in *France* "ſhould be *managed by Subjects or Forreigners*, "to make a ſhort deciſion; 'tis evident that "Forreigners muſt be allowed to gain our Mer-"chandizes, if we would have them take them "off, if we carry them into their Ports, we "ſhall make leſs Sales; yet, That our Merchants "may *ſhare in the profit*, they may enter into "Partnerſhip with them, or be their Commiſ-"ſioners here, or Freight them themſelves, "provided they ſell at ſomewhat *cheaper* "*Rates*, and *ſo be content with moderate Gain.* Pag. 171.

Which paſſages I have cited to ſhew, That 'tis no part of their Politicks *to increaſe Luxuries or Exceſs*; nor to incloſe their home and Forreign Market to their *own Navigation or Merchants.* See Sir *William Temple* of the *Dutch*, Pag. cited before, *Sect.* 12.

I have been thus long tracing the *French* Politicks, and our own unfortunate Methods in the matter of Trade, and this out of a hope to occaſion the Reſtitution and Increaſe *of ours*; but have gone ſo far in the purſuit, that on a ſudden I have ſtep't into a Scene of Horrors, by a neceſſary and inevitable Apprehenſion of the Dangers we are in, from the preſent *French* Powers; it is impoſſible for any man to cloſe up the eye of his Reaſon, when he ſees a Ghaſtly

Troop of Ruins making their regular Approaches against his Prince and his Countrey, and therein threatning many Millions of poor Innocents, and of these some Millions, who hardly *know their right hands from their left*, with Butcheries and Violations of all kinds; in such a Case, Silence would be the greatest and foulest of Barbarities, and no better than an Apostacy from the sacred Duties of *Allegiance* and *Self-Preservation.*

Shall we flatter our selves with an opinion that the *French* have no inclination to turn their mighty Treasures, Land and Sea-Forces upon us? How poor, weak, incertain and dishonourable is such a Security? Are we so tenacious of every little pretence of Right at home, and so busie to get a Penny, and yet shall be content to enjoy our Lives and Estates by no better a Tenure than the discretion of the *French?* whose Councils are dark and inscrutable, and who by their late Invasion of *Flanders*, contrary to former Leagues and Sanctions, and the then Assurances of the *French* Ministers, have at least demonstrated, that they most intend what they least profess; Is *England* become so despicable a Spot, as not to be worth the Acquest? Is it not equal to *Flanders*, or the *Island* of *Sicily?*

See *The Buckler of State and Justice*, Printed in (67) by the special Appointment of the Honorable the Lord *Arlington.*

Is

Is it not evident that the preſent *French* King aims at the Trade of the World, and particularly of the North? doth he not want Ports? will it not be more grateful to him to engroſs the Woollen Manufacture by ſecuring the *Engliſh Wooll*, than to ſtand to our Courteſie? Hath not *England* moſt other valuable *Materials*, by which he might yet mightily enlarge the Trade of *France*? Can he hope to proceed in his Conqueſts on the Continent, whileſt he leaves ſo dangerous an Enemy *at his Rere*? Doth he not know the *Spirit* of our People? Are our *Talbots*, and *Bedfords* forgotten? Did he not ſee us raiſe a conſiderable Army the other day to check his Progreſs? Is he not exaſperated by our late Prohibition of *French* Goods, which touches him in the moſt tender Concern of his Trade? Doth he not think himſelf affronted in the face of the World? What can be ſo grateful to a Prince Ambitious of Glory, and to the *French* Nation in general, as to render thoſe *Engliſh*, their *Hewers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water*, who have ſo often Triumphed in *France*? Will they not endeavour to obliterate that *Title England* bears in her publick Treaties? Will not ſuch an Acquiſt ennoble the name of the preſent *French* King, above all thoſe of his Anceſtors? What a mighty and uſeful Purchaſe will he have in a *Seminary* of *able Men* and *Horſes*, whoſe value he hath reaſon to underſtand, and which he may then draw

draw out into his Wars at his pleaſure, what ſpacious Poſſeſſions and Commanderies would *England* and its *Dominions* afford to his *French* Officers, to whom it may be no little Temptation to have the deflowring and violating of our moſt beautiful Women, being ſuch as the whole Earth cannot Parallel: A thouſand other particulars might be accumulated, of which it is not the leaſt that here would be a vaſt acceſſion of Preferments for the numerous *French Popiſh Clergy*, and then what would become of ours? And ſhall we think the *French* Councils are inſenſible of theſe Advantages? Have they who have been nicely *winnowing* all the reſt of their Neighbouring Countreys, forgotten ours? if we reſort again to the *French Politicks*, we ſhall have no reaſon to think ſo; we ſee before what they deſign upon our Commerce, from thence they proceed to project Conqueſts at Land; The *French Romances* ſpake us nothing but *Love and Honour*, and in truth make a very *pleaſing divertiſement*; but their Politicks denounce *Subjugation and Vaſſallage*: if we follow them from Countrey to Countrey, what they ſay of *ours* will appear more conſiderable; thus they begin: "It *were* "*to be wiſht that the King did add to* Pag. 153. "*his Kingdom all the Low Countries* to "the *Rhine*,--It would make him *Maſter of the* "*Northern Seas*, &c. (what Progreſs the *French* King

King hath made towards *this Conquest*, and why he found himself obliged to desist for the present, need not be repealed, no doubt but the French *bear it in Memory*) "Secondly, "it were convenient the King had "*Strasburgh* to keep all *Germany* in "*quiet*,&c. (Our Gazetts may inform us what Advances he hath made towards the reducing of this great strength, and he is now storing all his adjacent Magazines). "In the third place *he had need to have the* French Comte to lay a restraint upon the *Swisses*, &c. (This he hath since gotten). "In the fourth place, "*Millan* is necessary in respect of *Italy*, &c. (Of this we have yet heard no more than that he hath been *bargaining* for a passage by *Casall*). "In the fifth place, *Genoa*;---Genoa *would make* "*the King Master of the Mediterranean Sea*,&c. (This he hath so far proceeded in, that he hath obliged the *Genoeses* to harbour his Ships, and to almost what other Conditions he pleases. In the fifth Chapter, dictating how *France* should act with Forreign Princes after a most exquisite Scrutiny into the ill adjusted Councils, and Luxuries of the *Spanish* Grandees, 'tis said, "Their Forces are not to be feared, "Scicily *might easily make an Insurre-* "*ction*, &c. (We have seen what followed). *Portugal* is a perpetual Instru-

Pag. 154.

Beginning *Pag.* 183.

Pag. 186.

Pag. 187.

Pag. 188.

ment

"ment for *the weakening* Spain, &c. (*So it hath*
"*remained*) "The *Venetians* and People of *Ita-*
"*ly* are wise; to reduce them to our Intentions,
"we must work by down-right force, &c. The
"*Pope* will ever Consider *France*, *because of the*
"*County of* Avignon: The *Hollanders* will keep
"themselves to our Alliance as much as possi-
"bly they may,--They are rich. *It were expe-*
"*dient the King did interpose in their Affairs,*
"*and that some divisions be sown amongst them:*
(we see what hath ensued:) "The
Pag. 189. "*Swisses* are *Mercenaries*, who will
"always serve the King for his Money: (*so*
"*they have done ever since*) The King of *Den-*
"*mark* is a Prince whose State is but small, &c.
"*Sweden* will never break off from the Inte-
"rests of *France*, we ought to consi-
Pag. 194. "der them as Instruments which *for*
"*our Money* we may make Use of to divert the
"*English* or *Holland* Forces, when His Majesty
"makes any *Enterprize* which *pleaseth them*
not, &c. (*Success hath verified this, and*
Pag. 195. *may further:*) *The Friendship of the*
Turk *is good for* France, to be made Use of on
occasion against the *Emperor:* (our Gazetts have
informed us what Essays there have been; and
at last the *Turk* was brought upon *Muscovy*,
whereby the *Swedish* Army in *Livonia* was let
loose upon the Confederates.

Of

Of All others, theſe Politicks ſpeak moſt confidently of the Conqueſt of the *Engliſh*; they obſerve, that "*We have no Friends*,—and "are poſitive, "that a War of *France* "*for three or four years*, would ruine "us: (which 'tis evident muſt be ſaid out of a ſenſe *they have* of their *odds* in *National Treaſure*; for by the Import of the words and Context, they cannot be ſpoken on ſuppoſition the *French ſhould attacque us unawares*, (which God prevent:) Hereupon it follows "ſo it ſeems reaſonable that we ſhould make no "Peace with them, *viz.* the *Engliſh*; *but on* "*Conditions of the greateſt Advantage to us*, "unleſs the King think fit to defer the Execu-"tion of this *Project* for another time: To make *ſure and quick work*, 'Tis farther thought fit that ways ſhould be found to diſable our Government by great Expences, and by Diſunions and Convulſions; from which 'tis manifeſt, the *French* are *well aware* in what the *virtue* of our *Government* conſiſts, and therefore know how to ſtrike at the *root*: There are divers indirect Expedients propoſed, which I ſhall forbear, being ſomewhat Prolix, and mixt with Contemptuous and Reflective Expreſſions: It is enough to obſerve here from whence theſe *French Politicks* hope for our *Engliſh Harveſt*, and that this is the *work at home* before intended to be cut out for us. This

Pag. 189. Pag. 190.

See before Pag.

This *great Prince* hath thought fit hitherto to defer a *formal War* upon us, at least, under that Denomination; but whether he hath deferred the *Project* as these Politicks call it, may depend upon a Consideration of what he hath been *visibly* doing ever since; he hath been since building his Fleet, amassing his Naval Stores, Educating and Providing Seamen and Harbours, wasting and disabling those Neighbouring Empires and States, who being jealous of his Power, might otherwise have interposed in his Carriere, getting those great Passes and Strengths into his hands, by which they might have entred his Countrey, he hath been disciplining a victorious and mighty Army, and exhausting us by his Trade, with a great Addition of loss by his Capers; (the *French* are very curious at Cooking their Morsels before they eat them) and at last hath, as it were, *forced* a general Peace, even whilst he was Victorious, by which he is left at entire Liberty: of which Peace, whilst it was under Negotiation, and drawing to a Conclusion, a wise and noble Lord of our time, gave this his sence to both our Houses of Parliament: "The "influence such a Peace may "have upon our affairs, is fit-"ter for *Meditation* than discourse, only this is "*evident*, that by the Preparations we have "made

The present Lord Chancellour in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 23*d* of *May*, 1678.

"made for *War*, (*viz.* in the raising of our late "Army, &c.) and by the *Prohibition* we have "made of Trade, we have given no small Pro- "vocations to so mighty a King, who may be "at leisure enough to resent them if he please; "and therefore it will Import us so to streng- "then our selves both at home and abroad, "that it may not be found a cheap and easie "thing to put an Affront upon us. I need not inform any *English* Reader, what fatal Appre- hensions the same Parliament had of the Con- sequences of such a Peace; they are in ordinary Memory; can we think this Fleet of Men of War is built to be employed in the Fishery, or to lye and rot in their Harbours? Can this Army profitably, or safely be supported Idle? Will he suffer them to be tainted with Luxury? Will he hazard Animosities or Factions a- mongst the numerous *French* Nobles (by whom this Army is Officer'd) the Mutinies of the Sol- diers, or Insurrections of his own People? Will he not rather send these Armed Heards to graze in our sweet Mea- dows, and to gather him fresh Laurels out of our *English* Gardens?

The Gazett for Monday *Decemb.* 29. gives us this Advertisement. *Hamburgh, Dec.* 22. The *French* have hired all the Vessels in this River, and the *Weser*, which used to go to *France*, and return with Wines, on which they mean to Transport great Quantities of *Oats, and other Corn* (which they are therefore *buying up in these Parts*) to *Calais, Dunkirk*, and *other Places on that Coast*.

It may reasonably add to our Fear, that

We

we see the *French* King hath lately made so strict Alliances with *Spain*, and with *Bavaria*, by which he is farther secured from any Inroads from those Parts; and that we also find him so vigilant to prevent our Leaguing with the *Dutch*, and to come to some closer Conjunction with them himself; in which his Ministers use the utmost Arts, mixt with a sort of Menaces; I cannot but resort again to the *French Politicks*, where in the close of those Methods by which the *French* King may obtain an easie and intire Conquest of *England*, we find it farther dictated thus, "On the other
Pag. 192. "hand, *our League with the* Hollanders "*should be renewed, and they put into a belief*, "that *we should give them all the Trade still*, "because they have the knowledge of it, and "are proper for it; whereas (*as 'tis to be sug-*"*gested*) the *French* have no Inclination that "way, and Nature cannot be forced; they *must* "*be told* that now they are come to *the happy* "*time* for advancing their Affairs, and ruining "their Competitors in the Sovereignty of the "Northern Seas: we see these Politicks go through stitch in the business. And that upon the Whole they were very unfit to be Printed; no man who had so much Wit as to be the real Author, could have so little as to publish them; and the rather, because of Another Secret amongst the rest very improper to be divulged

at

As for the Proofs againſt this Priſoner, they were as home and poſitive as againſt the reſt.

1. Dr. *Oates* declares how he came acquainted with him, by bringing him Letters from his Sons from a Seminary in *Spain*; and then Swears, That *Langhorn* did hold Correſpondence with *Le Cheſe* and others, and that the Witneſs carried ſeveral Letters to perſons beyond the Seas; in one of which he ſaw under his own hand, words to this purpoſe, *That now they had a fair opportunity to begin, or give the blow*; with other expreſſions plain enough concerning the Plot: and theſe he ſaw ſigned *Richard Langhorn*, and that the Priſoner himſelf delivered them to him. *See the Tryal*, p. 9.

2. That he had order from the Provincial to give Mr. *Langhorn* an Account of the Reſolve of the Jeſuits Conſult for Killing the King, and that he did acquaint him therewith; and that the ſaid *Langhorn* thereupon lift up his Hands and Eyes, and prayed to God to give it a good ſucceſs. *P.* 10.

3. That he ſaw at his Chamber certain Commiſſions, which they call Patents; and that on his deſire he permitted the Witneſs to peruſe ſeveral of them; and that there was one Commiſſion to the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and another to the Lord *Powis*, for the one to be Lord Chancellour, and the other Lord Treaſurer of *England*; and one to Mr. *Langhorn* himſelf, to be Advocate of the Army; and that they were ſigned *Johannes Paulus d'Oliva*, by Vertue of a Brief from the Pope: and Mr. *Langhorn* alſo told him, that he had ſent one of theſe *P.* 11.

Commiſſions by his Son, to be delivered to the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardours* Son.

4. That Mr. *Langhorn*, being employed
P. 13. as Sollicitor for ſeveral of the Fathers of the Society, did prevail with the Benedictine Monks to raiſe ſix thouſand pounds for carrying on the Cauſe; and did ſay in the hearing of the witneſs, That he would do his utmoſt for procuring the ſaid Money.

5. That Mr. *Langhorn* was diſguſted that Sir *G. Wakeman* was not content with ten thouſand pound to poiſon the King, and call'd him *narrow-ſpirited*, *narrow-ſoul'd Phyſician*: for being a publick concern, and to carry on the Cauſe, it was no matter if he did it for nothing.

6. An Inſtrument was produced in Court, ſigned by *Paulus d'Oliva*, found in Mr. *Langhorns* Chamber, long after Mr. *Oates* had given in his Teſtimony. Now Mr. *Oates* ſwore, that the before-mentioned Commiſſions were ſigned by the ſame hand, and had the ſame mark; but they were all conveyed away, and this being onely concerning an Eccleſiaſtick buſineſs, wherein they thought there was no danger, was left. However, this much confirmed Mr. *Oates*'s Evidence, by ſhewing that Mr. *Langhorn* did uſe to receive Patents from, and had Commerce with the Superiour of the Jeſuits at *Rome*.

In the next place comes Mr. *Bedloe*, and
P. 19. he ſweats that he went with Mr. *Coleman* to Mr. *Langhorns* Chamber, and there Mr. *Coleman* gave him his Letters to *le Cheſe*, and the Popes Nuncio, and others, open, to read and Regiſter in

a

a Book by him kept for that purpoſe, and that he ſaw him read theſe Letters, which were concerning theſe deſigns in hand; and that he Regiſtred them in a Book in his Cloſet, whilſt he and Mr. *Coleman* walkt in the outer room; and that afterwards *Coleman* ſealed up theſe Letters, and delivered them to the Witneſs, who carried them to *le Cheſe*; and that ſome of the expreſſions in thoſe Letters were, That all things were now in readineſs, and they onely wanted Money: That the Catholicks were now in ſafety; that Places and Offices had been diſpoſed to them, and that all the Garriſons either were, or ſuddenly would be in their hands; and that now they had a fair opportunity, having *a King ſo eaſie to believe what was dictated to him by their Party*; and that if they miſſed this advantage, they might deſpair of ever introducing Popery into *England*. Theſe were the very Expreſſions of ſome of them.

2. That he brought other Letters from *Harcourt* to *Langhorn* to be Regiſtred, and *Langhorn* writ back, that he had received and would Regiſter them; of which Letters one was from the Rector of the *Iriſh* Colledge at *Salamanca*, which ſpecified, That the Lord *Bellaſis* and the reſt concerned, ſhould be in readineſs, for that they had ſent ſome *Iriſh* caſhier'd Souldiers, with many other Lay-Brothers, under the notion of Pilgrims for St. *Jago*, who were to take ſhipping at the *Groin*, and to land at *Milford*-Haven in *Wales*, and there to meet and join with the Lord *Powis*.

The onely defence Mr. *Langhorn* could make, was like that of the reſt of his Party, by ſtout

denyals, and endeavouring to invalidate the credit of the Witneſſes, by intrapping or confronting them in point of time or place.

P. 27. 1. He would make Doctor *Oates* an *Approver*, as having been pardoned for the ſame Crime; and alleadged, that the Witneſſes had received *Rewards* and gratifications for Swearing againſt them. But to this the Court anſwered, That it could not be ſuppoſed the King would Bribe his Witneſſes; and unleſs he could prove any reward to be given by Contract, or *ſubornation*, it was no Objection, for that allowance of ſuſtenance was uſually given of old to Approvers, *&c.*

P. 33. 2. He muſtered up again their *baffled* Evidence from St. *Omers*, of whom one being askt how he came to take notice of Mr. *Oates* being at St. *Omers* all *April* and *May*, and not in *June* and *July* as well, plainly anſwered, (being not well inſtructed, or more ſimple than the reſt)----It was----*Becauſe the Queſtion he came for did not fall upon that time*: Which gives more light to the ſuſpicion, that they came with their Leſſons in their Mouths, to ſave theſe mens Lives, and their Churches ſinking Credit; not to ſpeak truth, but only right or wrong confront the Kings Evidence: but in vain, for Dr. *Oates* ſufficiently aſſerted his Teſtimony by ſeven Witneſſes, who now again proved, as they had done the day before, his being in *London* at the time controverted.

P. 46. 3. Then Mr. *Langhorn* produced the Woman at the *White-horſe* Tavern, where Mr. *Oates* had ſaid the Conſult was held; and ſhe boldly averred, that there was never a Room in her

her Houſe would hold above a dozen people, and therefore there could not meet 50, or 18 or 20 perſons at a time. This was an Objection Doctor *Oates* could not fore-ſee, not thinking any body would have had the confidence to alleadge it; and ſo was not provided with any Witneſſes to confute it: but as Providence ordered it, no leſs than three ſeveral ſtrangers ſtood up in Court, that knew the Houſe well, and being ſworn, Atteſted, The firſt, that he had known ſixteen to dine often in one Room of that Houſe; the ſecond, that he knew two Rooms, one backwards and the other forward, where Thirty might Dine at a time; and the third, that at a Wedding he knew of above Twenty that Dined together in one Room next the ſtreet. Nay farther, there was a Gentleman of good Quality in Court, who declared, there have been Fifty in a Room there; ſo that this Evidence, by ſuch a peremptory falſhood, did but add to the ſuſpicion already too apparent on the reſt of his Witneſſes.

The matter being thus plain, the Jury did not find any difficulty that might require a tedious Conſultation, and therefore returning after a ſhort retirement, into Court, pronounced the priſoner Guilty; and then *Whitebread*, and the other Four Convicted the day before, being brought to him to the Bar, Mr. Recorder proceeded to paſs Sentence of Death upon them all Six. But Mr. *Langhorn*, either in conſideration of the affairs of others in relation to his Practice, which it might be convenient to adjuſt; or rather in hopes he might have been wrought upon

to make ſome ingenuous Confeſſion, was Reprieved for a Month, and then Executed on Munday the Fourteenth of *June*, perſiſting in the moſt ſolemn and ſtudied expreſſions of his Innocence; which that they might be home and full, and conſequently the more taking with the people, he had written down in a paper, whether of his own penning, or preſcribed unto him by ſome Prieſt, is uncertain; and this he delivered to the Sheriff, referring himſelf thereunto, as the laſt Expreſſions of his mind; and deſiring it might be ſeen.

CHAP.

Chap. XX.

The Occaſion and manner of Mr. Robert Jenniſon's *firſt Diſcovery; and the Apprehenſion of one* Caryl, *alias* Blunden, *and his Letter beyond the Seas concerning the Execution of* Whitebread, *&c.*

WE have before related how Mr. *Ireland* inſiſted that he was in *Staffordſhire*, when Dr. *Oates*, Mr. *Bedloe*, and one *Sarah Pain*, atteſt upon their Oaths that they ſaw him in *London*. And this he not onely alleadged at his Tryal, and brought Witneſſes to prove it, but made *ſolemn Aſſeverations at his death*, That he never was in *London* from the 5th of *Auguſt* to the 14th of *September*. And knowing that ſuch a failure in circumſtance of time and place, if they could get it believ'd, would much depretiate the Evidence, they not content with what had paſs'd, *revive* it again at *Whitebread*'s Tryal, as you have heard, offering freſh people to confirm it: And though the contrary was ſufficiently atteſted by three Witneſſes on Oath, enough to convince an impartial Jury, or any body elſe that conſiders the nature of a Papiſts Religion, and how far he may lawfully, nay is bound to *ſtretch* his private Conſcience, when it may be for the publick Emolument of their Church; yet it pleaſed

Providence, as well for the vindication and further illuſtration of *Truth*, as to ſhame theſe falſe diſſemblers, and expoſe their fallacious dealings, ſoon after to make a further *diſcovery*, and detect their Lyes in this behalf, by one that had been no ſmall Zealot of their Party.

For preſently after that Tryal, *Charles Chetwind* Eſq; upon ſome diſcourſe concerning the ſame, was accidentally inform'd, That one Mr. *Robert Jenniſon* of *Grays-Inne*, a perſon of good Quality, and formerly a ſtrict *Romaniſt*, had affirm'd, That he was with the ſaid *Ireland* about the middle of *Auguſt* in *Ruſſel-ſtreet* in *Covent-garden:* whereupon Mr. *Chetwind* reſolv'd to enquire further after it, being thereunto encouraged by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, to whom he had communicated what he had heard. Then *tracing* the buſineſs, he went to *Robert Bowes* Eſq; who own'd, that Mr. *Jenniſon* had ſignified ſo much to him formerly in a Letter from *Reading*, dated the 19th of *December*. Hereupon ſeveral of theſe Gentlemen repaired to Mr. *Jenniſon*, who after ſome unwilling Evaſions, ingenuouſly owned the ſame, and teſtified it upon Oath before *Edmund Warcup* Eſq; one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, *viz.* That coming up from *Windſor* on the 19th of *Auguſt*, he went to viſit the ſaid *William Ireland* (with whom for ſome time he had been well acquainted, as being *Related* unto him) and found him at his Lodging in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*, who told him he was then newly arrived by Poſt from *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordſhire*; and in diſcourſe enquired how his Majeſty and the Court were diverted: To which

Mr.

Mr. *Jenniſon* replied, That he heard his Majeſty took much *delight in Hawking and Fiſhing*, but chiefly in the latter; which his Majeſty follow'd early in the mornings, accompanied onely with two or three Lords: Whereupon *Ireland* replied, *He wondred his Majeſty ſhould be ſo thin guarded, he were eaſily taken off or removed*; or words to that effect. At which Mr. *Jenniſon* ſaying *God forbid*, *Ireland* began to qualifie it, ſaying, *I do not ſay it is lawful*; and ſome ſuch Expreſſions, which made him take little notice of it at that time; but afterwards hearing of the *Plot*, and that the King was to have been *kill'd* at *Windſor*, he began to reflect upon theſe former words more ſeriouſly, and related them to his Father and one Mr. *Smith* his Fathers Confeſſor, being then at *Wallworth* his Fathers Manſion-houſe in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

This and ſome other Depoſitions confirming the ſame, with the true Copy of the ſaid Letter, have ſince been publiſhed in print, and Mr. *Jenniſon* publickly atteſted the ſame at *Wakeman*'s Tryal; the horror and deteſtation of this helliſh Plot carried on by the Romaniſts, having induced him to quit their Communion.

Three days after the Execution of *Whitebread* and the other four Jeſuits, *viz.* 23 *June*, was Apprehended by *Captain Rich*, one of His Majeſties Juſtices of Peace for *Surry*, one *Caryl*, *alias Blunden*, ſuppoſed to be a Popiſh Prieſt, at *Lambeth-Marſh*, at the Houſe of one Mr. *Woodinbrook*, formerly an Haberdaſher of Small Wares in the Burrough of *Southwark*; in whoſe Chamber was found the *following Letter*, prepared to give an Account

count thereof to their Correſpondents beyond the Seas; wherein 'tis obſervable, what *liberty* they take to ſcandalize the proceedings of Juſtice, and invent ſo many *palpable* notorious Lies; as that of the Reprieve being brought to the Gallows, &c. to keep up their Reputation with their Party. The words of the Letter were as follow, onely in the Margent we have added ſome neceſſary Obſervations.

IHS. MR. 23 June, 1679.

My Dr. C.

ON *the Thirteenth of* June, *being Friday, Mr.* Whitebread, *Mr.* Harcourt, *Mr.* Turner, Fenwick *and* Gaven *of the Society, and Mr.* Corker, *were brought to the Bar in the* Old-Bailey: *Mr.* Corker *moved the Court for a longer time, being onely warned the night before, whereas the other Priſoners had eight days warning to prepare themſelves; whereupon he was re-manded to priſon till the next day: Then was the Indictment read againſt the Five above-named Jeſuits, for conſpiring the Kings Death, Subverſion of Government, and Proteſtant Religion. Then Mr.* Oates *ſwore, that on the Twenty fourth of* April, *there was a Conſult held in* London,

don, *where the Kings Death was Conſpired; and that he carried this Reſolve from one to the other, for their ſubſcribing; and ſwore particular Circumſtances againſt each. To Corroborate this Teſtimony, other Witneſſes,* Bedloe, Prance, Dugdale, *and* Chetwine, *came in with* (1) *Overtures to the matter ſworn by* Oates. *Then did the Priſoners* (*after a moſt ſolemn and* (2) *Religious Proteſtation of their Innocence and ignorance of any Conſpiracy againſt His Majeſty*) *deſire that their Witneſſes might be heard, which could demonſtrate that Mr.* Oates *was actually at St.* Omers *in all* April *and* May, *and moſt of* June, *when he ſwears he was in* London *at the Conſult. To prove this, about twenty Witneſſes were produced, who did ſhew evidently, by ſeveral remarkable paſſages, how* Oates *was at St.* Omers *all the whole time. But the Judge* Scroggs *asked each Witneſs as he did appear, of what Religion he was of; and upon anſwer that he was a Catholick, the whole Court gave a ſhout of laughter. Then the Judge would ſay to them,* (3) *Well, what have you then*

(1) A pretty way of expreſſing plain poſitive Evidence of ſeveral Overt Acts of Treaſon.

(2) It might be ſolemn, but could not be counted Religious by any but you, whoſe Religion conſiſts in Lies and Blaſphemous Hypocriſie.

(3) All abſolutely falſe, though it might have been the moſt proper way of Examining ſuch bold young Villains; for 'twas apparent they did not ſpeak their knowledge, but their Maſters dictates.

then been taught to ſay? and by many ſcoffing Queſtions (which moved the Court to frequent laughter) he did endeavour to take off the Credibility of their Witneſſes. Then the Butler, Taylor, and Gardiner of St. Omers *offered to ſwear that they ſaw Mr.* Oates *all that time at St.* Omers, *when he ſwore he was in* London. *After this, the Priſoners at the Bar produced Sixteen Witneſſes more, that proved* Oates (4) *forſworn in Mr.* Irelands *Tryal, becauſe he was in* Shropſhire, *when he atteſted be was in* London. *Then did* Gaven, *one of the Priſoners, with a great deal of clearneſs and Eloquence, and with a cheerful countenance, draw up their juſtification, ſhewing the force of their Evidences, and how fully their Witneſſes had proved Mr.* Oates (5) *perjured: then he did lay open the improbabilities of ſuch a Plot, and how unlikely that Mr.* Oates *ſhould be entruſted in delivering Commiſſions to Perſons of Honour and Eſtates, whom he never (as he acknowledges) had ſeen before or ſince. This was delivered by* Mr. Gaven, (6) *with a Countenance wholly unconcer-*

ed,

(4) Another impudent Lie; and ſure the Jeſuits themſelves and the *Staffordſhire* Vouchers, if they have any ſhame left, will now bluſh at the ſtory.

(5) Not the leaſt pretence for this old baffled Scandal.

(6) O brave Orator! ſure this Recommendation of ſuch braveſervice done the Church, will haſten *Gavens* Canonization, at leaſt one ſcore or two of years.

ed, *and in a voice very audible, and largely and pertinently expreſt. The Judge was incenſed at this Speech, in which he often interrupted him: but* Gaven *ſtill urged, My Lord,* I plead now for my Life, and for that which is dearer to me than life, (7) the honour of my Religion, *and therefore I beſeech you have a little patience with me! After this Plea of Mr.* Gaven's, *the Judge made his Harangue to the Jury, telling them, that what the Priſoners had brought, was onely the bare aſſertions of Boys, who were taught it as a point of their Religion, to lye for the honour of their Religion; whereas Mr.* Oates, Bedloe, *and others, were upon their Oaths; and if Oaths were not to be taken, no Courts could ſubſiſt.*

Then Mr. Oates *brought forth four* (8) *Witneſſes which he had kept in reſerve; an old Parſon in his Canonical Gown, an old Dominican Prieſt* (9) Proh Pudor & Dolor! *and two old women, that ſwore they ſaw Mr.* Oates *in the beginning of* May 1678. *At this the whole Court gave a ſhout of* (10) *laughter and hollow, that for almoſt a quarter the*

(7) Ay, and Soul to boot.

(8) Theſe four were no leſs than ſeven.

(9) Is he ſo? The honeſter man he, to ſpeak the truth and ſhame the Devil and the Jeſuits.——But *Proh dolor!* Alas! how this grieves you, that any one of your Religion ſhould ſpeak Truth when it makes againſt you.

(10) And who could forbear, to hear how undeniably your Novices were proved to be like their Maſters, moſt egregious *LIARS?* Nor yet did the Court laugh, but the crowd of people, whom the Court took order to ſilence.

the Cryers could not ſtill them: Never was Bear-baiting more rude and boiſterous than this Tryal. Upon this the Judge diſmiſs'd the Jury, to conſider and bring in their Verdict; who (after half an hours abſence) brought in the Five Priſoners at the Bar all guilty of High-Treaſon. Thereupon the whole Court clapt (11) *their hands, and gave a great hollow. It being now eight at night, the Court adjourned till next day at ſeven of the clock, which was Saturday: I was preſent from five in the morning, till the Court broke up. The Priſoners* comported themſelves (12) moſt Apoſtolically *at the Bar; not the leaſt paſſion or alteration appeared in them at the Invectives of the Judge, or at the Clamours of the People; but made a clear and candid defence, with a chearful and unconcerned countenance; and (as* (13) *a Stander-by ſaid) if they had had a* Jury of Turks, *they had been quitted. I was with them both before and after their Tryal, and had the honour of being in my Function* (14) *ſerviceable to them; which I look upon, as that God favoured me in, I hope for my future good.* Next

(11) Better ſo, than that you clap your hands at the murder of the King, as ſome of your Tribe did at that of your Enemy, his bleſſed Father.

(12) Bravely ſaid! Who would confeſs now? To be thus Apoſtolified, would make one venture Purgatory.

(13) Dear Sir, tell us his name; he was a Wit undoubtedly, unleſs it were your ſelf. A *Jury of Turks* have done ſtrange things, and may acquit any body; but theſe were a Jury of honeſt Chriſtians, and therefore they found them guilty.

(14) 'Tis pity you had not been caught giving the Knaves that Abſolution.

Next day Mr. Langhorne *a Lawyer*, Sir George Wakeman, Mr. Corker, Mr. March, Mr. Rumbly, *the three laſt Benedictines, were brought to the Bar; where the Indictment being read againſt them for conſpiring the Kings death, &c. they pleaded all Not guilty. Then was* Langhorne *firſt tryed, whoſe Tryal held ſo long, that they had not time to try the other four; and the Commiſſion by which they ſat expiring that day, the Judge adjourned the Tryal of the other four till the* 14th *of* July, *and then the Judge commanded the Keeper to bring the five Jeſuits; whom with* Langhorne (13) *were ſentenced to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered.* Mr. Corker *and* Mr. March *are cloſe Priſoners, and have been ſo this eight months, with whom I have been; God has fitted, and is ſtill fitting them as Sacrifices for himſelf: They are very well diſpoſed and reſigned to Gods holy will.* Mr. Rumbly *hath the liberty of the Priſon, with whom is* Mr. Heskett; *all chearful, and expect the good hour.*

On Thurſday, the day before the five Jeſuits were executed, my

(13) Poor *Langhorne!* not one word of praiſe for thee! methoughts thou lookedſt as *Apoſtolically* as the beſt of them: but this 'tis to be a Lay-man, and confeſs Jeſuits Lands.

my Lord Shaftsbury *was with* Turner *and* Gaven, *promising them the Kings Pardon, if they would acknowledge the Conspiracy. Mr.* Gaven *answered, He would not murther his Soul, to save his Body; for he must acknowledge what he knew not, and what he did believe was not. On Friday the* 20th *of* June, *Mr.* Whitebread *on one Sled with Mr.* Harcourt, *Mr.* Turner *and Mr.* Gaven *upon another Sled, and Mr.* Fenwick *in a Sled by himself, were drawn from* Newgate *to* Tyburn. *Mr.* Langhorne *is for a time reprieved, and promised Pardon, if he will (as 'tis reported) discover the Estates of the Jesuits: he was their Lawyer. 'Tis certain my Lord* Shaftsbury *has been often with him. In the way they comported themselves seriously and chearfully; Mr.* Gaven *had smug'd himself up as if he had been going to a Wedding. When they arrived at* Tyburn, *they each made a Speech: 1. Asseverating their ignorance of any Plot against his Majesty. 2. Pardoning their Accusers. 3. And heartily praying for them. Mr.* Gaven *in his Speech made an*

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ful to all, eſpecially Laborious men, and is neceſſary for Victualling of Ships.

Both in *France* and *Holland* are *great Exciſes* on moſt, or all, *ordinary* Meats and Drinks, in *England* on part of our *Drink* only, *viz.* That in Alehouſes, and Publick Brewings, (I hope there never will be any ſuch as ſhall burthen Trade.)

Our great *Waſts*, *and void Lands*, which are our preſent Grief and Scandal, may on the Regulation of our Trade, prove highly beneficial to us, ſince they will afford preſent room for a vaſt Increaſe of People, whether Forreign Planters, or others; in the *United Provinces*, or *France*, none ſuch are to be found.

And laſtly, *England* is far better *ſituated for the Fiſhing Trade*, and other Forreign Trade than either *France*, or the *United Provinces*; and its People are naturally far more *Adventurous* and *Valiant* than theirs, as Experience hath ſhewn, which makes no ſmall odds upon National Conteſts, between Nations emulous in Trade, when they fight upon equal Terms of Treaſure, and Warlike Preparations: and there is no queſtion but our *National Induſtry* in Trade, would be alſo more Vigorous and Succeſsful, were it put into ſuitable Methods; but otherwiſe can no more Exert it ſelf than a generous Courſer in a Horſe-Mill.

From all which it muſt be evident, that were our Trade eaſed as in Neighbour Nations, *England* would have the Superiority, ſince the ſame Cauſes muſt produce greater Effects in *England*, being invigorated with theſe our National Advantages, which no other Nation doth or can enjoy.

The *preſent Power* of the *French* King would infallibly much *Contribute* to it, which being arrived to ſuch a ſwelling and tremendous height, does not only intimidate all men of Trade and Wealth in *France*, eſpecially Proteſtants; but all the adjacent Provinces and People on the Continent, who either already groan under the inſupportable Oppreſſions and Inſolencies of the *French*, or are under deep and Continual Apprehenſions of being waſted by his numerous Troops, grown Proud and Wanton with Succeſs, and ready to make irreſiſtable deſcents upon any *private Order*; in which theſe his Neighbours can never think themſelves ſecure, becauſe of his late ſuddain Invaſion of *Flanders:* and would therefore flye to our *Engliſh* World, as a bleſſed and ſafe *Aſylum*, *were it put into a poſture of being ſo.* Then if the ſuddain Populacy, Treaſures, Trade, and ſtrength of the ſmall *Dutch Provinces*, were the Effects of the then *Spaniſh* Tyranny in the Low-Countreys, what might we not hope for from far greater Confluences of the richeſt and

moſt

moſt Mercantile and Induſtrious Proteſtants, or ſuch as would be ſo, even from *Holland* and *France*, as well as from many other parts of *Europe*? whoſe Stocks being tranſported by Bills of Exchange, and their Manufactures with their Perſons, and this on a ſuddain, would give the odds of Strength and Treaſure to the *Engliſh*, who no longer need to truſt to the fallible Security of *Leagues*, which are ſo often obſtructed and broken by the humour or perfidie of particular men, or fruſtrated by incapacity and accidents: And therefore this patching and piecing a Strength together by *Leagues*, is the dependance of ſmall and weak Eſtates, ſuch as thoſe of *Italy* and *Germany*; where they are always tricking and betraying one another; yet at this time Leagues (though not to be wholly reſted upon) *may be* of great, and good conſequence to *England*.

Had the *French* Monarchy never over-awed the reſt of *Europe*, as it now does, it muſt be evident, that if our Trade had been regulated and eaſed equally with the *Dutch*, all thoſe Merchants and People which have ſetled in *Holland*, would have planted here, where beſides the former advantages, the extent of our Territory, renders the Burthen of Taxes far eaſier on particular men than in *Holland*, where they are alſo at a much greater *neceſſary* charge for Garriſons on their Frontiers; nay the very

Dutch would have forsaken those Provinces for *England*, or if any had remained, they would have been Carriers for the *English*, as they have been to the *French*, and will rather be so for the future, if our Shop were sufficiently furnished, because they will more willingly transfer the wealth of the World to a Countrey where they themselves may securely share in it, when they please, than to an *Arbitrary Power*, which may in a moment swallow it up, and oppress those that brought it to any the most barbarous degree; from all which, these things are most manifest: First, That nothing does or can so formidably threaten the Trade, and by Consequence the Monarchy of *France*, as the Modern Freedoms of the *English*, and some other Neighbouring Countreys. Secondly, That the *English* Freedoms are at this day so great an advantage to his most Sacred Majesty of *England*, that they are a Weapon left in his hands, with which, and a Concurrent Regulation of our Trade, he may with ease and assurance attain a Superiority over all the Monarchs and Powers of *Europe* put together; he will cut the Grass under their Feet, and *draw* away their Treasures and People, notwithstanding all the Policies can be used; no *mere Prohibition* can stop those whose Interests, quiet, and safety, shall oblige them to depart: In which, besides a *sufficient* Guard at Sea, (to use

uſe the words of the *French* Politicks) *there would need almoſt no War to be made, nor His Majeſtie's Forces hazarded.* Thirdly, That for theſe Reaſons it is moſt evident, that it doth highly import the *French* Monarchy, that the Freedoms of the *Engliſh*, and all others in theſe parts ſhould be ſubverted and evacuated, of which, whether the *French* Councils, who have been ſo long and ſo curiouſly projecting the Grandure of that Monarchy, are inſenſible, I leave to be conſidered. Fourthly, 'Tis alſo as evident, that upon ſuch a Regulation of our Trade His Majeſtie's Revenue being (by ſome *Exciſe* added to the *then* ſmaller Cuſtoms, and other his preſent Funds) made *but equal* to what now it is, would infallibly ſwell higher and higher yearly, as *Trade, People, and Treaſures* ſhall increaſe; if *theſe* ſhall become *double, treble*, or *ſix fold* what they now are, ſo would his *Revenue:* then what extraordinary Supplies in Parliament might he not expect, upon a National Emergence; nay, or for his own proper occaſions, when by an increaſe of People, the Burthen upon *particular men* will be anſwerably eaſed, and by the increaſe of Treaſure, and the advance of private Revenues and Stocks, theſe People ſhould be enabled to give *largely*, and *often*; and this without any prejudice to their home-Trade, or Land-Rents, and therefore with ſuch an Alacrity, as is agree-

able to that true Honour and Affection they really bear him.

I need not observe how much it will be in His Majestie's Power to secure the making up of his present Revenue by new Funds, should he graciously think fit to compute by a Moderation of the Customs; but since I have now, and before mentioned *Excises*, and have observed some men of Parts, almost to *startle* at the *naming* of a new *Excise*, I shall thus far explain and vindicate my self, and the proposal: First, I shall agree that such *Excises* as affect and over-burthen the *beneficial parts* of Trade, are of pernicious Consequence. Secondly, that an Universality of *Excise* is both inconvenient and unnecessary; But that there may be *Excises* Imposed on many Superfluities, and Excesses, in Meats, Drinks, or Equipages, or upon some imported Goods *Consumed at home*, which would be no prejudice to any kind of Trade; being no clog upon our Exports, or Re-exports; or perhaps, a very small *Excise* on ordinary Meats, Drinks, and Apparel, might be supportable: I do not propound all, but some of these, in this Course there will be this odds of advantage on the part of the King, That the *Users, Wearers, and Consumers*, being this way made chargeable, His Majesty would be less liable to be defrauded than in the Customs, which are perpetually smuggled, and then

then the Imported Goods openly Vended, and uſed; This, on the part of the People, That it will bring the like Obligations of charge on men of *Viſible and Inviſible Stocks*, in, or out of Trade, as on the Land-holders; and therefore I do not ſee any ſhadow of reaſon why *Exciſes* ſhould appear ſuch Bugbears in *England*, eſpecially to Land-holders, any more than in *Holland*, and in other Trading Nations, where the Publick Revenues are made to ſwell high by theſe ſmall and almoſt inſenſible Payments. It is Confeſſed, that it will be highly fit to provide for a fair and eaſie Collection, and againſt the Extortions, Inſolencies, and Abuſes of Officers; for which we need to go no farther than to learn by what Methods they are collected and aſcertained in *Holland*, if any ſhall misbehave themſelves, we have a free recourſe to the Law, as in *Holland* they have, but in *France* they have not, though perhaps now more than ever. Nor are *Exciſes*, or ſomewhat in the Nature of them, ſo new amongſt us, if we regard the Antient *Tolls* for things bought and ſold in home-Markets; which, although they now ſeem ſmall, were before the Diſcovery and Diffuſion of the *Indian* Treaſure Conſiderable, and originally belonging to the Crown, but ſince appropriated to private Lands by Grants, or long uſages founded on Grants

See Sir *W. Temple* of the *Dutch*, Pag.

from the Crown, which having alſo given *Exemptions* to ſome Towns, we may preſume them firſt intended for the eaſe of Manufacturers, of which the Government had an eſpecial regard: having ſaid this, if the Reader will reflect on All that I have ſaid, he cannot think I have any deſign in beggaring the *Engliſh* Subjects by an invention of new Taxes; 'twas Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Opinion, that the ſmaller and more numerous Payments of Cuſtom, would riſe far higher than before, which he Confirms with Fact; be they more or leſs, the National Wiſdom is at Liberty to exert it ſelf in further Levies, by Exciſe, Land-Tax, Poll, or otherwiſe as there ſhall be cauſe.

Having now written what I intended on the preſent Subject, the Nature of it may ſufficiently aſſure the Reader, that I have not deſigned any peculiar Ends of my own: On the contrary it hath been a trouble, which I wiſh an abler hand had undertaken, and being for the Publick, may expect what uſually enſues, when men engage upon the cutting of Common Rivers, wherein they muſt have Conteſts with every one, who hath a *Lands End* abutting upon the Work, who will ſet a greater value upon ſix foot of Earth, than upon all the Good the Countrey, and therein themſelves, and all their Poſterity, might reap by the Accompliſhment of the Buſineſs: in

which

which they are generally ſo tenacious, that they ordinarily ruin the *Undertaker*, and thereby make great ſtore of mirth for the *Cunning men* of the adjacent Villages. I am not inſenſible how many mens Animoſities I have hazarded, by incountring their private Intereſts, or contrary Inclinations; a thing no way grateful to me, being not one of thoſe (if any there be) that, out of any petulancy of humour, Love Contention, or Innovations, or that would appear conſiderable by oppoſing ſomething that is already thought ſo; or that delight in ſtirring Sediments, or raking into ſedities; I affect quiet as much as any man, and account it my ordinary duty to give the leaſt offence I can, even to the little ones. Nothing but a Conſideration of our preſent Difficulties, and a hope to be Inſtrumental to the publick felicity could have moved me an Inch beyond theſe common Prudentials; to which I have yet conformed as far as I can; I have touched no man's Perſon, and I preſume I need not ſay I have forborn Reflections, in which I do not think any one obliged to me, being but what I have judged requiſite for a Compoſure of things; it hath been abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould repreſent our ill *Conſtitutions in Trade*, and ſome of the *moſt important Conſequences*, that from a general apprehenſion of the Common Intereſt, there may enſue a National Union

in

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And laſtly, *England* is far better *ſituated for the Fiſhing Trade*, and other Forreign Trade than either *France*, or the *United Provinces*; and its People are naturally far more *Adventurous* and *Valiant* than theirs, as Experience hath ſhewn, which makes no ſmall odds upon National Conteſts, between Nations emulous in Trade, when they fight upon equal Terms of Treaſure, and Warlike Preparations: and there is no queſtion but our *National Induſtry* in Trade, would be alſo more Vigorous and Succeſsful, were it put into ſuitable Methods; but otherwiſe can no more Exert it ſelf than a generous Courſer in a Horſe-Mill.

in thoſe Methods which may be moſt for the Publick Advantage, and this upon the *mighty Baſis* of our preſent form of Government, and under our preſent moſt gracious Prince, whoſe Glories I hope to ſee expanded by an exuberant increaſe of National Treaſures, People, and Royal Revenues, and to ſuch a degree, as that the days of our Queen *Elizabeth* ſhall appear but a faint Type, or dawning of the greater Luſtre and Happineſs of His now Majeſtie's Reign: This is what I wiſh for, and have to my utmoſt endeavoured, and therein the real Advantage of all Ranks of Men in the Nation; If then theſe Excellent Ends appear obſtructed by a ſort of antient or Innovated Laws or Uſages, who can ſpeak of them, without much Reſentment? In which, I hope, I am Excuſable. Theſe are the *Spells* by which our innocent People are inevitably lead into Courſes deſtructive to the Publick.

How can our Merchants or Shop-keepers now avoid Trading in Forreign Conſumptive Goods? Have they any ſufficient Stores of Home-Manufactures? Can our Merchants Trade from Port to Port as the *Dutch* and others do? or muſt Men that are bred up to theſe Gentile profeſſions, that are Men of *Family*, *Induſtry*, and *Fortune* fling up, live lazily, or poorly? Who doth not know how many generous and intelligent Men, are to be found

found amongſt our *Merchants* and *Shop-keepers* of all ſorts? Such as bear a true affection to their Country, and are an honour to the Nation, and ſuch as wiſh for a Regulation of our Trade, and would be ready and capable to give all farther aſſiſtances, were they called to it? This I wiſh to ſee, being not ſo conceited, as to think I have ſaid all that is material on this Subject; but on the contrary apprehend, That there are very few Paragraphs of what I have written, but may admit of farther Informations: In the mean time, from what hath been already ſaid, it muſt be apparent to theſe and others, That as an open and free Trade would be far more profitable to the generality of *Merchants*, ſo would it be far more honourable to all; That the Conſequential Increaſe of People and Wealth, would better ſupport our great Increaſe of *Shop-keepers*, *Lawyers*, *Solicitors*, *Pen-men*, &c. (of which the preſent Numbers would then hardly be ſufficient) That the benefits of our *Clergy* muſt receive an inevitable Improvment by it. And that our great and famous City of *London* (which is the Seat Royal, where our National Courts of Juſtice are, which is contiguous to our moſt ſecure Harbour for Ships, which hath the ſweeteſt and moſt Commodious ſituation of any City in *Europe*, and is ſo vaſtly peopled already) muſt by theſe advantages,

tages, for ever, have the greateſt reſort and Trade of the Nation, (even under the utmoſt Improvments of our Trade) which muſt then be incomparably more than now: Beſides, the vaſt advantage our *Gentry* would infallibly reap by the continual Riſing of their Rents, even ſuch of theſe as deſire more buſineſs, or gain, will then have other and farther daily opportunities, by putting Stocks into Manufactures, or Forreign Trade, and projecting and ſolliciting the Improvement of either, or both. In *Florence*, the very *Nobility* and great *Duke* himſelf are *Traders*; hence might our Members of Parliament be continually prepared to make the moſt ſuitable Laws for the facilitating of Trade.

Laſtly, Nothing can ſo effectually and certainly ſecure the peace of the Nation, as the Regulating of our Trade, ſince it will ſet all Mens heads and hands at work in all manner of Innocent and Profitable Imployments, and introduce a general ſatisfaction and Harmony.

Then, and never 'till then, ſhall we make up that invincible *Phalanax*, which muſt not only be terrible to all Forreign Nations, but to all Enemies of the Government at Home, when they find it ſupported by the ſolid Pillars of Trade and Treaſure, and a Conſequential ſwelling Populacy and Navigation; which will

will deter Men of ſence from Treaſonable Machinations, and of Fools there needs no fear: Whereas the defect of theſe Supports muſt continually adminiſter temptation to all ſuch as by reaſon of their particular circumſtances, can hope for any greater advantage or ſecurity, by the general ruin. The Body Politick being in this like the Natural, more ſubject to new Diſtempers when it is infirm before, but when ſtanch in every part eaſily bears off the Corruption or Acidity of any malevolent humours,

The *Trade of the World* hath long *courted England*, but never with *ſo much importunity*, or with ſo much *advantage* as now: This *great Lady* affecting Freedom and Security, hath no Inclination to continue under the *Arbitrary Power* of the *French*, nor the *Uncertain fate* of the *Dutch*; with *theſe* ſhe hath reſided only as a *Sojourner*, but is ready to *eſpouſe* our Intereſt and Nation, and with her ſelf to beſtow upon us the Treaſures of the World; but if we ſtill continue inexorable and ſtubborn, things are grown to ſuch a Criſis, That we may have reaſon to fear this is the laſt time of her asking, and that ſhe may ſuddenly turn this Kindneſs into ſuch a Fury as we ſhall not be able to withſtand.

Shall we then embrace ſo advantagious Overtures, or, ſhall we ſtill proceed in our preſent

preſent Methods? I have heard it was a hard matter to reclaim the *Iriſh* from drawing with their *Horſes Tails*; ſhall the *Iriſh* now beat us out of our Trade? Shall we continue rolling in Forreign Silks and Linnens? or be ſtill ſotting in Forreign Wines, whileſt they pick our pockets? Shall we be Curious in Trifles, ſneaking after our private intereſts? or like the blind *Sodomites* groping after our filthy Pleaſures, whileſt the Wrathful Angels of God ſtand at our elbows? Shall we like the Reprobated *Jews* be under continual Demications within, whileſt our Enemies are at the Gates? Shall thoſe of the *High City*, thoſe of the *Low City*, and thoſe in the *Temple* be picking out one anothers Eyes to facilitate the Aggreſſions of more powerful Forreigners? or ſhall we be hunting or graſping after falſe Shadows, and Imaginary Forms and Ideas, and neglect that moſt valuable ſubſtance which we have already in our Mouths, and which would turn into the moſt ſolid Nutriment, would we take the pains to chew it?

See *Joſephus* of the Siege and Deſtruction of *Hieruſalem.*

Which leads me to ſay, There is yet a farther Requiſite to our happy procedure in the Whole, of greater importance than any other; *viz.* a general Humiliation of our ſelves towards *God*, accompanied with an abhorrence of our paſt Intemperances, Corrupt Paſſions, Pride,

Pride, Avarice, Luſts, Prophaneneſs, mutual Oppreſſions, Perfidies, and other Impieties, with ſuch a Chriſtian Meekneſs, Charity, Purity, Truth, Holy Zeal and Reſolution as may render us Capable of his Mercy and Protection; perhaps one *falſe ſtep* at this time, may be more Irreparable than ever; 'tis certain we ſhall never be able to make a *true one* whileſt we are under the diſpleaſure of the Almighty.

It is as undeniable, that the Laws which obſtruct our Trade, cannot be *Repealed*, or *new ones* requiſite for its *Improvement* or *Security* be *made*, otherwiſe than by *a Parliament*: Whether therefore, upon this and other important Conſiderations, the *Convening* and *Holding* of a Parliament be not, under *God*, (*who does not work by Miracle*) a neceſſary means to prevent the Ruine of this Nation, and how Long it may *now* with *any* ſecurity be deferred, is that, which I moſt humbly ſubmit to the Determination of Authority.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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ERRATA.

The Copy by which the Print has been examined being imperfect, 'tis doubted all the Errata's are not obſerved, but theſe following have occurr'd, *viz.*

PAg. 3. *line* 17. *for* hires *read* hives. *p.* 5. *l.* 7. *r.* notions. *ſame p. l.* 11. *f.* of Improvments, *r.* and. *p.* 10. *l.* 3. *r.* populacy. *p.* 20. *l.* 17. *r.* commodities. *p.* 23. *l.* 18. *r.* principles. *p.* 25. *l.* 26. *r.* commodity. *p.* 26. *l.* 5. with *r.* which. *p.* 27. 17. *r* manufactures *p.* 31. *l.* 25. *f.* 25000. *r.* 250000. *p.* 42. *l.* 8. *r.* re-export. *p.* 44. *l.* 2. after 90 add or 100. *p.* 52. after *for* add *ſome. p.* 53. *f.* wars, *r.* wares. *p.* 57. *l.* 4. *after* high *add* our. *l.* 5. *after* have, *add* near. *p.* 59. *l.* 2. *af.* make *add* a. *p.* 59. *l.* 13. *f.* Sails *r.* Sailors. *p.* 71. *l.* 8. *af.*

ſince

since *add* of. *l.* 9, *bef.* are *ad* they. *p.* 72. *l.* 2. such as *leave out* as.

Mote, The next page is false numbred, *viz.* 129, and so forwards till page 160: In which are these Errata's *viz.*
p. 131. *l.* 19. *r.* erection. *p.* 136. *l.* 14. *f.* custom *r.* constitution. *p.* 138. *l.* 12. *f.* these *r.* the. *p.* 140. *l.* 5. it their, *leave out* it. *p.* 141. *l.* 26. *f.* exempted *r.* exerted. *p.* 144. *l.* 16. *r.* notoriety. the same *p. l.* 28. *f.* highly *r.* hightly. *p.* 149. *l.* 4. *f.* rent, *r.* vent. *p.* 150. *l.* 4. *r.* manufacturers. the same *p. l.* 19. *f.* prize *r.* price. *p.* 151. *l.* 3. *f.* being, *r.* bring. the same *p. l.* 24. *r.* in confiderate. *p.* 152. *f* of difficulties, *r.* and. *p.* 153. *l.* 11. *af.* never, *add* can. *p.* 154. he was, he *to be omitted*. in the same marg. *f.* 250000. *r.* 150000. *p.* 156. *l.* 18. *r.* manufacturer. *Note*, in Sect. 7. at *p.* 160. there follows *p.* 97. and so forwards, wherein are these Errata's. *p.* 97. *l.* 25. *af.* that *r.* most. *p.* 101. *l.* 6. *f.* and Virgil. *r.* or. *p.* 107. *l.* 9. *r.* propose. *p.* 109. *omit* and. *p.* 113. *l.* 8. *r.* difference. *p.* 115. *f.* a, *r.* the. *p.* 116. *l.* 1. *r.* manufacturers. same *p. l.* 13. *f.* this, *r.* there. same *p. l.* 16. *af.* and *r.* are. *p.* 125. *l.* 1. *leave out* partly. *p.* 126. *r.* those. *p.* 130. *l.* 22. *f.* a fair. *r.* an. *p.* 132. *l.* 19. *f.* 2000 *l. r.* 20000 *l. p.* 154. *l.* 13. *r.* altercation. same *p. l.* 24. & 25. *r.* affected. *p.* 155. *l.* 15. *r.* exported. *p.* 164. *l.* 23. *f.* art, *r.* act. *p.* 186. *l.* 1. *f.* here, *r.* have. *p.* 188. *l.* 20. *f.* God, *r.* Gold. *p.* 202. *l.* 2. *to* three *add* near. *p.* 211. *f.* moderately, *r.* immoderately. *p.* 218. an *addend.* in the Margent omitted, *viz.*

To these and all the rest, add what losses have accrew'd by inclosing our *African* Trade to a Company and Joynt-stock, and by the Act of 15 *Car.* 2. 7. Licensing the *East-India* Company, and all others, to Export Treasure and such other late losses, as being mentioned in the 4*th.* 5*th.* 6*th.* 7*th.* or 8*th.* Sections, have been omitted in this and the last Section.

p. 220. *l.* 20. *f.* drive, *r.* drove. *p.* 221. *l.* 14. *af.* more then *add* their then value. *p.* 223. *l.* 15 *for* yield, *r.* of. *p.* 225. and the, *leave out* and. *l.* 11. of more, *leave out* of. *p.* 230. *l.* 25. *r.* greater. *p.* 235. *f.* impossible, *r.* possible. *p.* 238. *f.* of felters, *r.* and. *p.* 242. *l.* 26. *f.* their, *r.* the. *p.* 252. *l.* 28. *f.* 100, *r.* 600. *p.* 253. *l.* 28. *r.* King's. *p.* 256. *l.* 10. abundant of, *leave out* of. *l.* 24. *f.* parts, *r.* Ports. *p.* 263. *l.* 6. *af.* gain, *add* by. *p.* 265. *l.* 21. *f.* spake, *r.* speak. *p.* 267. *l.* 3. *f.* repealed, *r.* repeated. *l.* 9. *af.* and *add* that. *l.* 21. an *addend.* in the margent omitted, *viz.* The *Genoeses* of late appear unwilling. *p.* 269. *l.* 39. *f.* our, *r.* their. *p.* 274. *l.* 1. *f.* can, *r.* could. *p.* 296. *af.* cutting, *r.* new. *p.* 299. *l.* 22. *r.* benefices. *p.* 300. *f.* Phalanax. *r.* Phalanx. *p.* 301. *f.* malevolent, *read* malignant.